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THE

# ESSAYS,

OR

## Councils, Civil and Moral,

OF

Sir. *FRANCIS BACON*,

Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount St. *Alban*.

With a TABLE of the Colours

OF

*GOOD* and *EVIL*.

And a Diſcourſe

Of the WISDOM of the

# ANCIENTS.

*To this Edition is added the Character of Queen* ELIZABETH; *never before Printed in Engliſh.*

*LONDON*,
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TO THE

Right Honourable my very good Lord,

THE

Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace,

LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL

OF

# ENGLAND.

Excellent Lord,

SOlomon *says*, A Good Name is a precious Ointment; *and*, *I assure my self*, *such will Your Grace's Name be with Posterity*; *for your* Fortune *and* Merit, *both have been Eminent*; *and You have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my* Essays; *which*, *of all my other* Works, *have been most current*: *For that*, *as it seems*, *they come home to Men's* Business, *and* Bosoms. *I have enlarged them both in* Number *and* Weight;

*so that they are indeed a* New work. *I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to* Your Grace, *to prefix your Name before them, both in* English *and* Latin: *For I do conceive, that the* Latin *Volume of them, (being in the* Universal Language*) may last as long as* Books *last. My* Instauration *I dedicated to the* King; *my* History *of* Henry *the Seventh (which I have now also translated into* Latin*) and my* Portions *of* Natural History *to the* Prince. *And these I dedicate to* Your Grace, *being of the* best Fruits, *that, by the good increase which* God *gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yield.* God *lead* Your Grace *by the hand.*

Your Graces most obliged

and Faithful Servant,

*Fr. St. ALBAN.*

## Elogies on the Illuſtrious Author.

*Ben. Johnſon*, in his *Diſcoveries*, p. 101.

THere happened in my time, one Noble Speaker [Lord *Verulam*] who was full of gravity in his ſpeaking. His Language (where he could ſpare or paſs by a jeſt) was nobly cenſorious. No Man ever ſpake more neatly, more preſtly, more weightily or ſuffered leſs emptineſs, leſs Idleneſs in what he uttered. No member of his Speech but conſiſted of his own Graces. His Hearers could not cough or look aſide from him without loſs. He commanded where he ſpoke; and had his Judges angry and pleaſed at his devotion. No Man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him, was, leſt he ſhould make an end. *And afterwards*, Lord *Egerton*, the Chancellor, a great and grave Orator, *&c.* But his Learned and able, (though unfortunate) Succeſſor, [Lord *Bacon*] is he, who hath filled up all members, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compar'd or prefer'd, either to inſolent *Greece* or haughty *Rome*. In ſhort, within his view, and about his times, were all the Wits born, that could honour a Language or help Study. Now things daily fall; Wits grow downward, and Eloquence goes backward: So that he may be nam'd and ſtand as the mark and ἀκμὴ of our Language.

*And a little after*, My conceit of his Perſon was never increaſed toward him, by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only proper to himſelf, in that he ſeem'd to me ever by his work, one of the greateſt Men, and moſt worthy of admiration, that had been in many Ages. In his Adverſity I ever prayed, that God would give him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want. Neither could

could I condole in a word or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could do harm to Vertue, but rather help to make it manifest.

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*A. Cowley*, in his Poem to the Royal Society, after some Reflections upon the State of *Philosophy* aforetime, goes on.

*SOme few exalted Spirits this latter Age has shown,*
*That labour'd to assert the Liberty*
*(From Guardians, who were now Usurpers grown)*
*Of this Old* Minor *still, Captiv'd Philosophy;*
*But 'twas Rebellion call'd to fight*
*For such a long oppressed Right.*
BACON *at last, a mighty Man, arose,*
*Whom a wise King and Nature chose*
*Lord Chancellor of both their Laws,*
*And boldly undertook the injur'd Pupils cause.*

III.

*Authority, which did a Body boast,*
*Though 'twas but Air condens'd, and stalk'd about,*
*Like some old Giants more Gigantic Ghost;*
*To terrifie the Learned Rout*
*With the plain Magick of true Reasons Light,*
*He chac'd out of our sight,*
*Nor suffer'd Living Men to be misled*
*By the vain shadows of the Dead:*
*To Graves from whence it rose, the conquer'd Phantome fled;*
*He broke that Monstrous God which stood*
*In midst of th' Orchard, and the whole did claim,*
*Which with a useless Sithe of Wood,*
*And something else not worth a name,*
*(Both vast for shew, yet neither fit*
*Or to Defend, or to Beget;*

*Ridiculous*

*Ridiculous and fenceleſs Terrors! ) made*
*Children and ſuperſtitious Men afraid.*
*The Orchard's open now, and free;*
BACON *has broke that Scare-crow Deity;*
*Come, enter, all that will,*
*Behold the ripe'ned Fruit, come gather now your fill.*
*Yet ſtill, methinks, we fain would be*
*Catching at the Forbidden Tree,*
*We would be like the Deitie,*
*When Truth and Falſhood, Good and Evil, we*
*Without the Sences aid within our ſelves would ſee;*
*For 'tis God only who can find.*
*All Nature in his Mind.*

## IV.

*From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,*
*(Though we our Thoughts from them perverſly drew)*
*To Things, the Minds right Object, he it brought,*
*Like fooliſh Birds to painted Grapes we flew;*
*He ſought and gather'd for our uſe the True;*
*And when on heaps the choſen Bunches lay,*
*He preſt them wiſely the Mechanic way,*
*Till all their juyce did in one Veſſel join,*
*Ferment into a Nouriſhment Divine,*
*The Thirſty Souls refreſhing Wine.*
*Who to the Life and exact Piece would make,*
*Muſt not from others Work a Copy take;*
*No, not from* Rubens *or* Vandike;
*Much leſs content himſelf to make it like*
*Th' Idæas and the Images which lie*
*In his own Fancy, or his Memory.*
*No, he before his ſight muſt place*
*The Natural and Living Face;*
*The real Object muſt command*
*Each Judgment of his Eye, and Motion of his Hand.*

V.

*From these long Errors of the way,*
*In which our wandring Predecessors went,*
*And like th' old* Hebrews *many years did stray*
*In deserts but of small extent,*
BACON, *like* Moses, *led us forth at last,*
*The barren Wilderness he past,*
*Did on the very Border stand,*
*Of the blest promis'd Land,*
*And from the Mountains Top of his Exalted Wit,*
*Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.*
*But life did never to one Man allow*
*Time to Discover Worlds, and Conquer too;*
*Nor can so short a Line sufficient be*
*To fathom the vast depths of Natures Sea:*
*The work he did we ought t' admire,*
*And were unjust if we should more require*
*From his few years, divided 'twixt the Excess*
*Of low Affliction, and high Happiness:*
*For who on things remote can fix his sight,*
*That's always in a Triumph, or a fight?*

A. Cowley.

# ESSAYS.

## I.

## *Of Truth.*

WHAT is *Truth*? ſaid jeſting *Pilate*, and would not ſtay for an Anſwer. Certainly there be that delight in giddineſs, and count it a Bondage to fix a Belief; affecting Free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the Sects of Philoſophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain diſcourſing Wits, which are of the ſame Veins, though there be not ſo much Blood in them, as was in thoſe of the Ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; nor again, that when it is found, it impoſeth upon Mens thoughts, that doth bring *Lyes* in favour; but a natural, though corrupt Love, of the *Lye* it ſelf. One of the later Schools of the *Grecians* examineth the matter, and is at a ſtand, to think what ſhould be in it, that Men ſhould love *Lyes*; where neither they make for Pleaſure, as with Poets, nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the *Lyes* ſake. But I cannot tell. This ſame *Truth* is a naked and open Day-light, that doth not ſhew the Masks, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the World, half ſo ſtately and daintily as Candle-light. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that ſheweth beſt by day; but it will not riſe to the price of a Diamond or

Carbuncle, that ſheweth beſt in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lye* doth ever add pleaſure. Doth any Man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens minds vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, falſe Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of Men, poor ſhrunken things, full of melancholy and indiſpoſition, and unpleaſing to themſelves? One of the Fathers in great ſeverity called Poeſie, *Vinum Dæmonum*, becauſe it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is but with the ſhadow of a *Lye*. But it is not the *Lye* that paſſeth through the mind, but the *Lye* that ſinketh in, and ſettleth in it, that doth the hurt, ſuch as we ſpake of before. But howſoever theſe things are thus in Mens depraved Judgments and Affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge it ſelf, teacheth, that the Enquiry of *Truth*, which is the love-making, or wooing of it: The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the preſence of it: And the belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it, is the ſoveraign Good of humane Nature. The firſt Creature of God in the Works of the Days, was Light of the Senſe; the laſt was the Light of Reaſon; and his Sabbath-work ever ſince, is the illumination of his Spirit. Firſt, he breathed Light upon the face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed Light into the face of Man; and ſtill he breatheth and inſpireth Light into the Face of his Choſen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwiſe inferiour to the reſt, ſaith yet excellently well: *It is a pleaſure to ſtand upon the Shore, and to ſee Ships toſt upon the Sea; a pleaſure to ſtand in the window of a Caſtle, and to ſee a Battel, and the adventure thereof below: But no pleaſure is comparable to the ſtanding upon the vantage-ground of Truth*, (an Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and ſerene:) *and to ſee the Errors, and Wand'rings, and Miſts, and Tempeſts in the Vale below*: So always that this proſpect be with Pity, and not with Swelling or Pride. Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Man's mind move in Charity, reſt in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of *Truth*.

To

To pass from Theological and Philosophical *Truth*, to the *Truth* of Civil Business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature, and that mixture of Falshood is like allay in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth basely upon the Belly, and not upon the feet. There is no Vice that doth so cover a Man with shame, as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Montaigne* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, Why the word of the *Lye* should be such a Disgrace, and such an odious Charge: Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a Man lyeth, is as much as to say, that he is a Brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lye* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the wickedness and falshood, and breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peal, to call the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find faith upon the Earth.*

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## II.

## *Of Death.*

MEN fear *Death*, as Children fear to go in the dark: And as that natural fear in Children is encreased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *Wages of Sin*, and passage to another World, is Holy and Religious; but the fear of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious Meditations, there is sometimes a mixture of Vanity and Superstition. You shall read in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a Man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his fingers end pressed

or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of *Death* are, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times *Death* passeth with less pain, than the torture of a Limb: For the most Vital parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher, and natural Man, it was well said; *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa*, Groans, and Convulsions, and discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of Man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of *Death*: and therefore *Death* is no such terrible Enemy, when a Man hath so many attendants about him, that can win the Combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Grief* flieth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it. Nay we read, after *Otho* the Emperor had slain himself, *Pity* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meer compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds *Niceness* and *Satiety*; *Cogita quam diu eadem faceres*; *Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest.* A Man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a wearines to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of *Death* make. For they appear to be the same Men till the last instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a Complement; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor, vive, & vale. Tiberius* in Dissimulation, as *Tacitus* saith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant. Vespasian* in a Jest, sitting upon the stool; *Ut puto, Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*, holding forth his neck. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*; and the like. Certainly the *Stoicks* bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great Preparations made it appear more fearful. *Better*, saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Naturæ.*

It

It is as natural to die, as to be born; and to a little Infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earneſt purſuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time ſcarce feels the hurt; and therefore a Mind fix'd, and bent upon ſomewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of *Death*. But above all, believe it, the ſweeteſt Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends and Expectations. *Death* hath this alſo; that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguiſheth Envy.

——*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

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## III.

## *Of Unity in Religion.*

*Religion* being the chief band of humane Society, it is a happy thing when it ſelf is well contained within the true band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Diviſions about *Religion* were Evils unknown to the Heathen. The Reaſon was, becauſe the Religion of the Heathen conſiſted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any conſtant Belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *Jealous* God, and therefore his Worſhip and *Religion* will endure no Mixture or *Partner*. We ſhall therefore ſpeak a few Words concerning the *Unity* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits thereof, what the Bonds, and what the Means.*

*The Fruits of Unity* (next unto the well-pleaſing of God, which is All in All) are two; the one towards thoſe that are *without the Church*, the other towards thoſe that are *within*. For the former; It is certain, that Hereſies and Schiſms are of all others the greateſt Scandals, yea, more than corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body, a Wound or Solution of continuity, is worſe than

a corrupt Humour; so in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as a breach of *Unity:* And therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is, when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Hereticks, and others in an outward face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to sound in Mens Ears, *Nolite exire*, *Go not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those *without*) saith, *If an Heathen come in and hear you speak with several Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when Atheists and prophane Persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary Opinions in *Religion*; it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them *to sit down in the Chair of the Scorners.* It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, sets down this Title of a Book, *The Morrice-dance of Hereticks.* For indeed every Sect of them hath a divers posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in Worldings, and depraved Politicks, who are apt to contemn Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit toward those that are within.* It is *Peace*, which containeth infinite Blessings; it establisheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward Peace of the Church distilleth into Peace of Conscience; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies, into Treatises of *Mortification and Devotion.*

Concerning the *Bonds of Unity*, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extreams. For to certain *Zealots* all speech of pacification is odious *Is it peace*, Jehu? *What hast thou to do with peace? Turn thee behind me. Peace* is not the matter, but *following* a *Party.* Contrariwise certain *Laodiceans*, and lukewarm Persons, think they may accommodate Points

of

of *Religion* by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and Man. But these extreams are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, where in the two cross clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded. *He that is not with us, is against us:* And again, *He that is not against us, is with us*: That is, if the points Fundamental, and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not meerly of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model: Men ought to take heed of rendring God's Church by two kinds of Controversies: The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christ's Coat indeed had no seam, but the Churches Vesture was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A Man that is of judgment and understanding, shall sometimes hear ignorant Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ, mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of judgment which is between Man and Man, shall we not think, that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail Men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. *Paul*, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita pro-*

*famas vocum novitates, & oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ*; Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; the one, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicite ignorance; for all Colours will agree in the dark: the other when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in Fundamental points. For Truth and Falshood in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar*'s *Image*, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means of procuring Unity*; Men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of *Religious Unity*, they do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity, and of Humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual and Temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomet*'s Sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate *Religion* by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences, except it be in cases of overt Scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the State; much less to nourish Seditions, to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions, to put the Sword into the Peoples hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the First Table against the Second, and so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

what would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in *France*, or the Powder-Treason of *England*? He would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist

Atheiſt than he was: For as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn with great circumſpection in caſes of *Religion*; ſo it is a thing monſtrous, to put it into the hands of the common People. Let that be left unto the Anabaptiſts, and other Furies. It was great blaſphemy, when the Devil ſaid, *I will aſcend and be like the higheſt*; but it is greater blaſphemy to perſonate God, and bring him in, ſaying, *I will deſcend and be like the Prince of Darkneſs*; And what is it better, to make the cauſe of *Religion* to deſcend to the cruel and execrable actions of Murdering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subverſion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghoſt, inſtead of the likeneſs of a Dove, in the ſhape of a Vulture or Raven; and to ſet out of the Bark of a Chriſtian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pyrates and *Aſſaſſines*. Therefore it is moſt neceſſary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree, Princes by their Sword, and all Learnings both Chriſtian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod, do damn and ſend to Hell for ever thoſe Facts and Opinions, tending to the ſupport of the ſame, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Councils concerning *Religion*, that Council of the Apoſtle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet juſtitiam Dei.* And it was a notable obſervation of a wiſe Father, and no leſs ingeniouſly confeſſed, *That thoſe which held and perſwaded preſſure of Conſciences, were commonly intereſſed therein themſelves for their own ends.*

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## IV.

## *Of Revenge.*

*Revenge* is a kind of wild Juſtice; which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as to the firſt wrong, it doth but offend the Law, but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly in taking *Revenge*, a Man is

but even with his Enemy; but in passing it over he is superior: for it is a Princes part to pardon. And *Solomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the Glory of a Man to pass by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and irrecoverable; and wise Men have enough to do with things present, and to come: therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth a wrong for the wrongs sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving himself better than me? And if any Man should do wrong meerly out of ill nature why? yet it is but like the Thorn or Bryar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then let a Man take heed, that the *Revenge* be such, as there is no law to punish; else a Man's Enemy is still before-hand, and it is two for one. Some when they take *Revenge*, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh: This is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the Party repent. But base and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flieth in the dark. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence* had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall read*, (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *shall we* (saith he) *take good at God's hand, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well: *Publick Revenges* are for the most part Fortunate, as that for the death of *Cæsar*, for the death of *Pertinax*, for the death of *Henry* the Third of *France*, and many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay, rather vindicative persons live the life of Witches; who as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

*Of*

# V.

## *Of Adversity.*

IT was an high Speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoicks) *That the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly, if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in *Adversity*. It is yet a higher speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a Man, and the security of a God: Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poesie, where transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been busie with it; for it is in effect the thing, which is figured in that strange Fiction of the ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without Mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom Humane Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher*; Lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail Bark of the Flesh, through the Waves of the World. But to speak in a mean: The Vertue of *Prosperity* is Temperance, the Vertue of *Adversity* is Fortitude, which in Morals is the more heroical Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the *Old Testament*, *Adversity* is the Blessing of the *New*, which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the *Old Testament*, if you listen to *David*'s Harp, you shall hear as many Hearse-like Airs, as Carols. And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many fears and distastes; and *Adversity* is not without comforts and hopes. We see in Needle-works and Embroideries,

broideries, it is more pleaſing to have a lively work upon a ſad and ſolemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightſom ground. Judge therefore of the pleaſure of the Heart, by the pleaſure of the Eye. Certainly Vertue is like precious Odours, moſt fragrant when they are incenſed or cruſhed: For *Proſperity* doth beſt diſcover Vice, but *Adverſity* doth beſt diſcover Vertue.

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## VI.

## *Of Simulation and Diſſimulation.*

*Diſſimulation* is but a faint kind of Policy or Wiſdom; for it asketh a ſtrong Wit and a ſtrong Heart, to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker ſort of Politicks, that are the great Diſſemblers.

*Tacitus* ſaith, *Livia ſorted well with the Arts of her Husband and Diſſimulation of her Son*; attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Auguſtus*, and *Diſſimulation* to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Veſpaſian* to take Arms againſt *Vitellius*, he ſaith, *We riſe not againſt the piercing Judgment of* Auguſtus, *nor the extream Caution or Cloſeneſs of* Tiberius. Theſe properties of *Arts*, or *Policy*, and *Diſſimulation*, or *Cloſeneſs*, are indeed habits and faculties, ſeveral, and to be diſtinguiſhed. For if a Man have that penetration of Judgment, as he can diſcern, what things are to be laid open, and what to be ſecreted, and what to be ſhewed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him a habit of *Diſſimulation* is a hindrance, and a poorneſs. But if a Man cannot attain to that Judgment, then it is left to him generally to be Cloſe, and a *Diſſembler*. For where a Man cannot chuſe or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the ſafeſt and varieſt way in general; like the going ſoftly by one that cannot well ſee. Certainly the ableſt Men that ever were,

were, have had all an openneſs and frankneſs of dealing, and a Name of Certainty and Veracity: but then they were like Horſes, well managed; for they could tell paſſing well, when to ſtop or turn; And at ſuch times, when they thought the caſe indeed required *Diſſimulation*, if then they uſed it, it came to paſs, that the former Opinion ſpread abroad of their good faith, and clearneſs of dealing, made them almoſt inviſible.

There are three degrees of this hiding and veiling of Mans ſelf. The firſt *Cloſeneſs*, *Reſervation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himſelf without obſervation, or without hold to be taken what he is. The Second *Diſſimulation* in the *Negative*, when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third *Simulation* in the *Affirmative*, when a Man induſtriouſly and expreſly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the firſt of theſe, *Secrecy*: it is indeed the vertue of a Confeſſor; and aſſuredly the *Secret* Man heareth many Confeſſions; For who will open himſelf to a Blab, or a Babler? But if a man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth diſcovery, as the more cloſe Air ſucketh in the more open: And as in confeſſion, the revealing is not for worldly uſe, but for the eaſe of a Mans heart; ſo *Secret*, Men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while Men rather diſcharge their minds, than impart their minds. In few words, Myſteries are due to *Secrecy*. Beſides (to ſay truth) *Nakedneſs* is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no ſmall reverence to Mens manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for Talkers, and Futile perſons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will alſo talk what he knoweth not. Therefore ſet it down, *that an habit of Secrecy is both politick and moral.* And in this part it is good, that a Mans face give his tongue leave to ſpeak. For the diſcovery of Mans ſelf, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakneſs and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Mans words.

For

For the second, which is *Dissimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy* by a necessity; so that he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler* in some degree. For men are too cunning, to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be *Secret* without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a Man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech: As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be *Secret*, except he give himself a little scope of *Dissimulation*, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third degree, which is *Simulation*, and false profession: That I hold more culpable, and less politick, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of *Simulation* (which is this last degree) is a Vice, rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation* in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The great *advantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First, To lay asleep opposition, and to surprise: For where a Mans intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans self a fair retreat: For if a man engage himself by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another: For to him that opens himself, Men will hardly shew themselves averse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd Proverb of the *Spaniard*, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; as if there were no way of discovery, but by *Simulation*.

There

There be also three *disadvantages* to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, That it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, That it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is *Trust* and *Belief*. The composition and temperature is, to have *Openness* in fame and opinion, *Secrecy* in habit, *Dissimulation* in seasonable use, and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

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## VII.

## *Of Parents and Children.*

THE joys of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of Life, but they mitigate the remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by generation is common to Beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to Men: and surely a man shall see the noblest Works and Foundations have proceeded from *Childless Men*, which have sought to express the Images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed: So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their Houses, are most indulgent towards their *Children*; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work, and so both *Children* and *Creatures*.

The difference in affection of *Parents* towards their several *Children*, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy,

worthy, especially in the *Mother*; as *Solomon* saith, *A wise Son rejoyceth the Father, but an ungracious Son shames the Mother.* A man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst, some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of *Parents* in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their *Children*, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and *School-Masters*, and *Servants*) in creating and breeding an emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times forteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children* and Nephews, or near Kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body. And to say truth, in Nature it is much a like matter, insomuch that we see a Nephew sometimes resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more than his own *Parent*, as the blood happens. Let *Parents* chuse betimes the vocations and courses they mean their *Children* should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the *Children* be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it: but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud facit consuetudo*, *younger Brothers* are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the *elder* are disinherited.

# VIII.

## *Of Marriage and Single Life.*

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given hoſtages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterpriſes, either of Vertue or Miſchief. Certainly the beſt works, and of greateſt merit for the publick, have proceeded from the *unmarried* or *Childleſs Men*, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick. Yet it were great reaſon, that thoſe that have *Children*, ſhould have greateſt care of future times, unto which they know they muſt tranſmit their deareſt pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their thoughts do end with themſelves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are ſome other, that account *Wife* and *Children* but as Bills of Charges. Nay, more, there are ſome fooliſh rich covetous men, that take pride in having no *Children*, becauſe they may be thought ſo much the richer. For perhaps they have heard ſome talk, *Such an one is a great rich Man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the moſt ordinary cauſe of a *Single Life* is Liberty, eſpecially in certain ſelf-pleaſing and humorous minds, which are ſo ſenſible of every reſtraint, as they will go near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried men* are beſt Friends, beſt Maſters, beſt Servants, but not always beſt Subjects; for they are light to run away, and almoſt all Fugitives are of that condition. A *ſingle life* doth well with *Church-men*: for *Charity* will hardly water the Ground, where it muſt firſt fill a Pool. It is indifferent for *Judges* and *Magiſtrates*; for if they be facile and corrupt, you ſhall have a Servant five times worſe than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I find the Generals

commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their *Wives* and *Children*. And I think the despising of *Marriage* amongst the *Turks*, making the vulgar Souldier more base. Certainly *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of humanity; and *Single men*, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust: yet on the other side, they are more cruel and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands*; as was said of *Ulysses*, *Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*. Chast Women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the *Wife*, if she thinks her *Husband* wise, which she will never do, if she find him *jealous*. *Wives* are young mens Mistrisses, Companions for middle Age, and old mens Nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question; When a man should marry? *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen, that bad *Husbands* have very good *Wives*; whether it be, that it raiseth the price of their *Husbands* kindness when it comes, or that the *Wives* take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Husbands* where of their own chusing, against their Friends consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

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## IX.

## *Of Envy.*

THERE be none of the *Affections*, which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but *Love* and *Envy*. They both have vehement wishes, they frame themselves

ſelves readily into imaginations and ſuggeſtions; and they come eaſily into the eye, eſpecially upon the preſence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to faſcination, if any ſuch thing there be. We ſee likewiſe the Scripture calleth *Envy*, *an evil eye*; and the Aſtrologers call the evil influences of the Stars, *Evil Aſpects*; ſo that ſtill there ſeemeth to be acknowledged in the act of *Envy*, an ejaculation or irradiation of the Eye. Nay, ſome have been ſo curious, as to note, that the times, when the ſtroke or percuſſion of on *Envious Eye* doth moſt hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory or Triumph; for that ſets an edge upon *Envy*: And beſides, at ſuch times the ſpirits of the *Perſon envied* do come forth moſt into the outward parts, and ſo meet the blow.

But leaving theſe curioſities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle, *What Perſons are apt to envy others*, *what Perſons are moſt ſubject to be envied themſelves*, and *what is the difference between publick and private Envy*.

A man that hath no virtue in himſelf, ever *envieth* virtue in others. For mens minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other; and who ſo is out of hope to attain to anothers vertue, will ſeek to come at even-hand by depreſſing anothers Fortune.

A man that is buſie and inquiſitive, is commonly *Envious*: for to know much of other mens matters cannot be, becauſe all that ado may concern his eſtate; therefore it muſt needs be, that he taketh a kind of play-pleaſure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own buſineſs, find much matter for *Envy*: For *Envy* is a gadding paſſion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home, *Non eſt curioſus, quin idem ſit malevolus.*

Men of noble Birth are noted to be *envious* towards new Men when they riſe: For the diſtance is altered;

and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and Eunuchs, and old Men, and Bastards are *envious*: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair anothers, except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other mens harms a Redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever *Envious*; For they cannot want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them; which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *envied Poets* and *Painters*, and *Artificers* in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near Kinsfolks and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their equals, when they are raised: For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and *Envy* ever redoubleth from speech and Fame. *Cain*'s *Envy* was the more vile and malignant towards his Brother *Abel*, because when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Envy*.

Concerning *those that are more or less subject to Envy*: First, Persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced are less *envied*: For their fortune seemeth but due unto them: and no man *envyeth* the payment of a *Debt*, but

but Rewards and Liberality rather. Again, *Envy* is ever joyned with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no compariſon, no *Envy*; and therefore Kings are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheleſs it is to be noted, that unworthy perſons are moſt *envied* at their firſt coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwiſe, Perſons of worth and merit are moſt envied, when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the ſame, yet it hath not the ſame *Luſtre*; for freſh men grow up that darken it.

Perſons of noble blood are leſs *envied* in their riſing; for it ſeemeth but right done to their Birth. Beſides, there ſeemeth not much added to their fortune; and *Envy* is as the Sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank or ſteep riſing Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the ſame reaſons, thoſe that are advanced by degrees are leſs *envied*, than thoſe that are advanced ſuddenly, and *per ſaltum*.

Thoſe that have joyned with their Honour great Travels, Cares or Perils, are leſs ſubject to *Envy*: For men think that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them ſometimes; and Pity ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore you ſhall obſerve, that the more deep and ſober ſort of politick Perſons in their greatneſs, are ever bemoaning themſelves, what a life they lead, chanting *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feel it ſo, but only to abate the edge of *Envy*. But this is to be underſtood of buſineſs that is laid upon men, and not ſuch as they call unto themſelves. For nothing increaſeth *Envy* more than an unneceſſary and ambitious engroſſing of buſineſs; and nothing doth extinguiſh *Envy* more, than for a great Perſon to preſerve all other inferior Officers in their full rights and preheminencies of their places; for by that means there be ſo many Skreens between him and *Envy*.

Above all, thoſe are moſt ſubject to *Envy* which carry the greatneſs of their fortunes in an inſolent and

proud manner, being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be croſt and over-born of things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, That the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less *Envy*, than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, To conclude this part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy* had somewhat in it of *witchcraft*, so there is no other cure of *Envy* but the cure of *witchcraft*; and that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage some body upon whom to drive the *Envy* that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Business, will take it at any cost.

Now to speak of *publick Envy*. There is yet some good in *publick Envy*; whereas in *private* there is none. For *publick Envy* is an *Ostracism*, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This *Envy* being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the modern Languages by the name of *Discontentment*, of which we shall speak in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease in a State like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when *Envy* is gotten once in a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour.

odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in *infections*; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This *publick Envy* seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal Officers or Ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Ministers be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate, then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it self. And so much of *publick Envy* or *Discontentment*, and the difference thereof from *private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that, of all other Affections, it is the most importune and continual. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then. And therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit.* For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy* do make a man pine, which other Affections do not; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved: for which cause it is the proper Attribute of the Devil, who is called *the envious Man, that soweth Tares amongst the Wheat by night*: as it always cometh to pass, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

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## X.

## *Of Love.*

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love* than the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is even matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in

life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a *Syren*, sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the Memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of *Love*; which shew, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, do keep out this weak Passion. You must except nevertheless, *Marcus Antonius*, the half Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, the Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the Latter was an Austere and Wise Man. And therefore it seems, (though rarely) that *Love* can *find* entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*. As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself a Subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the Excess of this passion; and how it braves the Nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing but in *Love*. Neither is it meerly in the Phrase: for, whereas it hath been well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's self; certainly, the *Love* is more. For there was never a proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *Loved*: and therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to Love, and to be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party *Loved*: but to the *Loved* most of all; except the *Love* be reciproque: for it is a true rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it self. As for the other losses, the

the *Poets* Relation doth well figure them; that he that preferreth *Helena*, quitteth the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdom*. This Passion hath his Floods in the very times of weakness: which are great *Prosperity*, and great *Adversity*; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more frequent, and therefore shew it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*; yet make it keep Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs and Actions of Life: for if it check once with Business, it troubleth mens Fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own Ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to *Love*; I think it is but as they are given to *Wine*; for *Perils* commonly ask to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in a mans Nature a secret Inclination and Motion towards *Love* of others; which if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it self towards many, and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; as it is seen sometimes in *Friars*. *Nuptial* Love *maketh Mankind*; *Friendly* Love *perfecteth it*; *but wanton* Love *corrupteth and embaseth it*.

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## XI.

## *Of Great Place.*

MEN in *Great Place* are thrice *Servants*: Servants of the *Soveraign* or *State*; Servants of *Fame*; and Servants of *Business*. So as they have no Freedom, either in their *Persons*, nor in their *Actions*, nor in their *Times*. It is a strange desire to seek *Power*, and to lose *Liberty*; or to seek Power over *others*, and to lose Power over a *Mans self*. The Rising unto *Place* is laborious; and by *Pains* men come to greater *Pains*: and it is sometimes

times baſe; and by *Indignities* men come to *Dignities.* The Standing is Slippery, and the Regreſs is either a Downfall, or at leaſt an Eclipſe, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non ſis, qui fueris, non eſſe, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would; neither will they, when it were Reaſon: but are impatient of Privateneſs, even in Age and Sickneſs, which require the Shadow: Like old Townſmen; that will be ſtill ſitting at their Street Door, though thereby they offer Age to Scorn. Certainly Great Perſons had need to borrow other mens Opinions, to think themſelves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themſelves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the firſt that find their own griefs; though they be the laſt that find their own fault. Certainly, Men, in great Fortunes are ſtrangers to themſelves, and while they are in the puzzle of Buſineſs, they have no time to tend their Health, either of body or mind. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur ſibi.* In *Place*, there is licence to do Good and Evil, whereof the latter is a curſe; for in Evil, the beſt condition is not to Will, the ſecond not to Can. But Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aſpiring: for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards Men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without Power and Place, as the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the end of mans motion; and Conſcience of the ſame is the accompliſhment of mans reſt: for if a man can be partaker of God's Theater; he ſhall likewiſe be partaker of God's Reſt. *Et converſus Deus, ut aſpiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus ſuæ, vidit quod omnia eſſent bona nimis*; And then the Sabbath. In the Diſcharge of thy *Place*, ſet before thee the beſt Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after

ter a time set before thee thine own Example; and examine thy self strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same *Place*: not to set off thy self by taxing their memory; but to direct thy self what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery or scandal of former Times and Persons; but yet set it down to thy self, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein, and how they have degenerated; but yet ask Counsel of both Times, of the Ancienter Time what is best, and of the Latter Time what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course Regular, that men may know before-hand what they may expect, but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thy self well when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the right of thy *Place*, but stir not questions of Jurisdiction; and rather assume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Right of Inferior *Places*; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices, touching the Execution of thy *Place*: and do not drive away such as bring Information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The Vices of *Authority* are chiefly four: *Delays*, *Corruption*, *Roughness and Faction*. For *Delays*, Give easie access, Keep Times appointed, Go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For *Corruption*, Not only binds thine own hands, or thy Servants hands from taking, but binds the hands of Suitors also from offering: For integrity used, doth the one; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that

move

move thee to change, and do not think to ſteal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent Cauſe of Eſteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to cloſe *Corruption.* For *Roughneſs*, It is a needleſs cauſe of *Diſcontent*; *Severity* breedeth Fear, but *Roughneſs* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for *Facility*, It is worſe than Bribery: for Bribes come but now and then; but if Importunity, or idle Reſpects lead a Man, he ſhall never be without, as *Soloman* ſaith, *To reſpect Perſons is not good; for ſuch a Man will tranſgreſs for a piece of bread.* It is moſt true that was anciently ſpoken; *A Place ſheweth the Man*: and it ſheweth ſome to the better, and ſome to the worſe: *Omnium conſenſu: capax Imperii, niſi imperaſſet*; ſaith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Veſpaſian* he ſaith, *Solus imperantium Veſpaſianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an aſſured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends: for *Honour* is, or ſhould be the place of Vertue; and as in Nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place: ſo Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority ſettled and calm. All riſing to *Great Place*, is by a winding Stair; and if there be Factions, it is good to ſide a Mans ſelf, whilſt he is in the Riſing; and to balance himſelf when he is placed. Uſe the memory of thy Prodeceſſor fairly and tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a debt will ſure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, reſpect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reaſon to look to be called. Be not too ſenſible, or too remembring of thy Place in Converſation, and private Anſwers to Suitors; But let it rather be ſaid, *When he ſits in Place he is another Man.*

*Of*

## XII.

## *Of Boldneſs.*

IT is a trivial Grammar-School Text, but yet worthy a wiſe *Mans* conſideration. Queſtion was asked of *Demoſthenes*, *What was the chief part of an Orator?* He anſwered, *Action*; What next? *Action*; What next again? *Action*; He ſaid it that knew it beſt, and had by nature himſelf no advantage in that he commended. A ſtrange thing, that that part of an Orator which is but ſuperficial, and rather the vertue of a Player, ſhould be placed ſo high above thoſe other noble parts of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the reſt: Nay, almoſt alone; as if it were All in All. But the reaſon is plain. There is in Humane Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wiſe; and therefore thoſe faculties, by which the fooliſh part of mens minds is taken are moſt potent. Wonderful like is the caſe of *Boldneſs* in civil buſineſs: What firſt? *Boldneſs*; What ſecond and third? *Boldneſs* And yet *Boldneſs* is a Child of Ignorance and Baſeneſs, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheleſs it doth faſcinate and bind hand and foot, thoſe that are either ſhallow in judgment, or weak in courage, which are the greateſt part; yea, and prevaileth with wiſe men at weak times. Therefore we ſee it hath done Wonders in popular States, but with Senates and Princes leſs; and more, ever upon the firſt entrance of *Bold Perſons* into action, than ſoon after: for *Boldneſs* is an ill Keeper of Promiſe. Surely, as their are *Mountebanks* for the Natural Body, ſo are there *Mountebanks* for the Politick Body: Men that under-take great Cures, and perhaps have been luckly in two or three Experiments, but want the grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you ſhall ſee a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomet*'s miracle: *Mahomet* made the People believe, that he

he would call an Hill to him; and from the top of it offer up his Prayers for the observers of his Law. The people assembled, *Mahomet* called the Hill to him again and again; and when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, Mahomet *will go to the Hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of *Boldness*) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, *Bold* persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar also, *Boldness* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldness* is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the Spirits do a little go and come, but with *Bold* men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a Stale or Chess, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a Satyr than for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, That *Boldness* is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniencies; therefore it is ill in Counsel, good in Execution: so that the right use of *Bold* persons is, that they never command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the direction of others. For in Counsel it is good to see Dangers, and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

## XIII.

## *Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature.*

I Take *Goodness* in this sense, the affecting of the weal of Men, which is that the *Grecians* call *Philanthropia*; and the *Word Humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to

to expreſs it. *Goodneſs* I call the Habit, and *Goodneſs of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues and Dignities of the mind is the greateſt, being the Character of the Deity; and without it man is a buſie, miſchievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of Vermine. *Goodneſs* anſwers to the *Theological Vertue*, *Charity*, and admits no exceſs, but error. The deſire of power in exceſs, cauſed the Angels to fall; the deſire of knowledge in exceſs, cauſed Man to fall; but in *Charity*, there is no exceſs, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The inclination of *Goodneſs* is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inſomuch, that if it iſſue not towards men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is ſeen in the *Turks*, a cruel people, who nevertheleſs are kind to beaſts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Inſomuch as *Busbequius* reporteth, a Chriſtian Boy in *Conſtantinople* had like to have been ſtoned for gagging, in a waggiſhneſs, a long-billed Fowl. Errors indeed, in this Vertue, in *Goodneſs* or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*; *So good that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almoſt in plain terms, *That the Chriſtian faith had given up good men in prey to thoſe that are tyrannical and unjuſt:* which he ſpake, becauſe indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did ſo much magnifie *Goodneſs* as the Chriſtian Religion doth: therefore to avoid the ſcandal, and danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an Habit ſo excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or ſoftneſs, which taketh an honeſt mind priſoner. Neither give the *Æſop*'s Cock a Gem, who would be better pleaſed and happier if he had had a Barly Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Leſſon truly: *He ſendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to ſhine upon the Juſt and Unjuſt*; but he doth not rain Wealth, nor ſhine Honour and Virtues upon Men equally. Common Benefits

nefits are to be communicated with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware, how in making the *Portraicture*, thou breakeſt the Pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of our ſelves the Pattern; the love of our Neighbours but the Portraicture. *Sell all thou haſt and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but ſell not all thou haſt, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou mayſt do as much good with little means as with great: for otherwiſe, in feeding the Streams thou drieſt the Fountain. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodneſs* directed by right Reaſon: but there is in ſome Men, even in Nature, a diſpoſition towards it; as on the other ſide, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter ſort of malignity turneth but to croſſneſs, or frowardneſs, or aptneſs to oppoſe, or difficileneſs, or the like; but the deeper ſort to envy and meer miſchief. Such men in other mens calamities, are as it were in ſeaſon, and are ever on the loading part; not ſo good as the Dogs that licked *Lazarus*'s ſores, but like Flies, that are ſtill buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *Miſanthropi*, that make it their practice to bring men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpoſe of their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such diſpoſitions are the very errors of Humane Nature; and yet they are the fitteſt Timber to make great Politicks of: like to knee-Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be toſſed, but not for building Houſes, that ſhall ſtand firm. The parts and ſigns of *Goodneſs* are many. If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it ſhews he is a Citizen of the world; and that his heart is no Iſland cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joyns to them. If he be compaſſionate towards the afflictions of others, it ſhews that his heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it ſelf, when it gives the Balm. If he eaſily pardons and remits offences, it ſhews that his mind is planted above Injuries, ſo that he cannot be ſhot. If he

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be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs Mens minds, and not their trash. But above all, if he have St. *Paul*'s Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from Christ, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of conformity with *Christ* himself.

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## XIV.

## *Of Nobility.*

WE will speak of *Nobility*, First as a *Portion* of an *Estate*, then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and absolute *Tyranny*, as that of the *Turks*; for *Nobility* attempers *Sovereignty*, and draws the eyes of the People somewhat aside from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies* they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Mens eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for business-sake, as the fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their diversity of Religion, and of Cantons: for Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The United Provinces of the *Low-Countries* in their Government excel; for where there is an equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more chearful. A great and potent *Nobility* addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well when *Nobles* are not too great for Sovereignty, nor for Justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiours may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A numerous *Nobility* causeth Pover-

ty and inconvenience in a State: for it is a ſurcharge of Expence; and beſides, it being of neceſſity that many of the *Nobility* fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of diſproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Perſons*, It is a reverend thing to ſee an ancient Caſtle or Building not in decay; or to ſee a fair Timber Tree ſound and perfect: how much more to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath ſtood againſt the Waves and Weathers of Time. For New *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Thoſe that are firſt raiſed to *Nobility* are commonly more virtuous, but leſs innocent than their Deſcendents; for there is rarely any Riſing, but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is reaſon the memory of their Vertues remain to their Poſterity; and their faults die with themſelves. *Nobility* of *Birth* commonly abateth Induſtry; and he that is not induſtrious, envieth him that is. Beſides, *Noble Perſons* cannot go much higher; and he that ſtandeth at a ſtay when others riſe, can hardly avoid motions of Envy. On the other ſide, *Nobility* extinguiſheth the Paſſive Envy from others towards them; becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of Honour. Certainly Kings that have able Men of their *Nobility*, ſhall find eaſe in employing them, and a better ſlide into their buſineſs: for people naturally bend to them, as born in ſome ſort to command.

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## XV.

## *Of Seditions and Troubles.*

*Shepherds* of *People* had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempeſts* in *State*; which are commonly greateſt when things grow to equality; as natural *Tempeſts* are greateſt about the *Æquinoctial*. And as there are certain

tain hollow blasts of Wind, and secret swellings of Seas before a Tempest, so are there in States:

*——Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*
*Sæpe monet, Fraudesque & operta tumescere Bella.*

Libels and Licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false News often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the Signs of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the Pedigree of *Fame*, saith, *She was Sister to the Giants.*

*Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum,*
*Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem*
*Progenuit.——*

As if *Fames* were the Relicks of *Seditions* past; but they are no less indeed, the Preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, That *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sence, and traduced: For that shews the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith, *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames* are a sign of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them with too much severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*: For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder long-liv'd.

Also that kind of obedience which *Tacitus* speaketh of is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the Yoak, and essay

of disobedience; especially, if in those Disputings, they which are for the direction, speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as *Machiavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a side, it is a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: For first himself entred League for the extirpation of the *Protestants*, and presently after the same League was turned upon himself: For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there are other Bands that tie faster than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be almost put out of possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest Persons in a Government, ought to be as the motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile* (according to the old Opinion;) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest Motion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore when great Ones in their own particular motion move violently; and as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius quam ut Imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the Orbs are out of Frame: For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threat'neth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken or weak'ned, (which are *Religion*, *Justice*, *Counsel*, and *Treasure*) Men had need to pray for fair weather.

But let us pass from this part of Predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth) and let us speak first of the *Materials* of *Seditions*; then of the *Motives* of them; and thirdly, of the *Remedies*.

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Concerning the *Materials* of *Seditions*; It is a thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions* (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *much Poverty* and *much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many Votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome* before the Civil War.

*Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,*
*Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

This same *multis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and broken Estate in the better sort, be joined with a want and necessity in the mean People, the danger is eminent and great; for the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politick Body like to Humours in the Natural, which are apt to gather preter-natural Heat, and to enflame. And let no Prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good: Nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same things that provoke the Patience, do withal make the Courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be secure concerning *Discontentments* because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no Peril hath ensued; for as it is true, that every Vapour or Fume doth not turn into a Storm: So it is nevertheless true, that Storms though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: And as the *Spanish* Proverb noteth well; *The Cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motions* of *Seditions* are, *Innovation in Religion*, *Taxes*, *Alteration of Laws and Customs*, *breaking of Privileges*, *General Oppression*, *Advancement of unworthy Persons*, *Strangers*, *Dearths*, *Disbanded Soldiers*, *Factions grown desperate*. And whatsoever in offending People, joineth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies*; there may be some general Preservatives whereof we will speak; as for the just Cure, it must answer to the particular Disease, and so be left to Counsel rather than Rule.

The first *Remedy* or Prevention is, to remove by all means possible that *Material Cause* of *Sedition*, whereof we speak; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well-Balancing of Trade, the Cherishing of Manufactures, the Banishing of Idleness, the Repressing of Waste and Excess by Sumptuary Laws; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soil, the Regulating of Prices of Things vendible, the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreseen, that the Population of a Kingdom (especially if it be not mowen down by Wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which should maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more, and earn less, do wear out an Estate sooner than a greater number that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over-proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown Clergy, for they bring nothing to the Stock. And in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that forasmuch as the increase of any Estate must be upon the Foreigners; (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost.) There be but three things which one Nation selleth unto another; the *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it;

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the *Manufacture* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*: So that if these three Wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *Materiam superabit Opus*; that the Work and Carriage is more worth than the Materials, and inricheth a State more: as is notably seen in the *Low Country-men*, who have the best Mines above ground in the World.

Above all things good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a streight hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Usury*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pastu-rages*, and the like.

For removing *Discontentments*, or at least the danger of them, there is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects*, the *Nobless* and the *Commonalty*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great: for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then this is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the Waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets feign, that the rest of the Gods would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus* with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An Emblem no doubt, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for *Griefs* and *Discontentments* to evaporate (so it be without too great Insolency or Bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Imposthumations.

The part of *Epimetheus* might well become *Prometheus* in the case of *Discontentments*; for there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the Lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the Vessel. Certainly the politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of *Hopes*, and carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poison of *Discontentments*. And it is a certain sign of a wise Government and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by *Hopes* when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some out-let of *Hope*; which is the less hard to do, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the fore-sight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatness and Reputation, that hath Confidence with the *Discontented* Party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought *Discontented* in his own particular; which kind of Persons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same Party that may oppose them, and so divide the Reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; and those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himself infinite hurt in that Speech,

*Sylla*

*Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare:* For it did utterly cut off that *Hope* which Men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech, *Legi à se militem non emi*; for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewise by that Speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*: A Speech of great despair for the Soldiers: And many the like. Surely *Princes* had need, in tender matters, and tickliſh times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, Let Princes against all Events not be without some great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the repressing of *Seditions* in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first breaking out of *Troubles*, than were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But let such Military Persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than Factious and Popular, holding also good correspondence with the other great Men in the *State*, or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.

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## XVI.

## *Of Atheism.*

I Had rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, that this Universal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore God never wrought

wrought a Miracle to convince *Atheism*, because his ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Man's mind to *Atheism*, but depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens minds about to *Religion*; for while the mind of Man looketh upon second Causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further: But when it beholdeth the Chain of them Confederate and Linked together, it must needs fly to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that *School* which is most accused of *Atheism*, doth most demonstrate *Religion:* That is, the *School* of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an Army of infinite small Portions, or Seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture saith, *The Fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*: It is not said, *The Fool hath thought in his heart:* So as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can throughly believe it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheism* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthned by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects. And, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for *Atheism* and not recant; whereas if they did truly think, that there were no such thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble for his Credit's sake, when he affirmed, there were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World; wherein, they say, he did temporize; though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he

he is traduced; for his Words are Noble and Divine; *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* *Plato* could have said no more: And although he had the confidence to deny the *Administration*, he had not the power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West* have names for their particular *gods*, though they have no name for *God*; as if the *Heathens* should have had the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. but not the word *Deus*: which shews, that even those barbarous People have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against the *Atheist* the very Savages take part with the very subtilest Philosophers: The Contemplative *Atheist* is rare: A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are: For that all that impugn a received *Religion* or *Superstition*, are by the adverse part branded with the name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists* indeed are *Hypocrites*, which are ever handling Holy Things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The *Causes* of *Atheism* are *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many: For any one main *Division* addeth Zeal to both sides, but many Divisions introduce *Atheism*. Another is, *Scandal* of *Priests*, when it is come to that which St. *Bernard* saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.* A third is, Custom of *Prophane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*, which doth by little and little deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, especially with Peace and Prosperity; for Troubles and Adversities do more bow Mens minds to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Man's Nobility: for certainly Man is of kin to the Beasts by his Body; and if he be not of kin to *God* by his Spirit; he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the raising Humane Nature: For take an example of a Dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on, when he finds himself maintained by a Man, who to him is instead of a *God*, or *Melior natura*: Which courage

rage is manifestly such, as that Creature without the confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which humane Nature in it self could not obtain. Therefore as *Atheism* is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature of the means to exalt it self above humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations. Never was there such a *State* for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this *State* hear what *Cicero* saith, *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos; nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

## XVII.

## *Of Superstition.*

IT were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all, than such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely; and certainly *Superstition* is the reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal Men should say, there was no such Man at all as* Plutarch, *than that they should say, that there was one* Plutarch, *that would eat his Children as soon as they were born*; as the Poets speak of *Saturn*. And as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheism* leaves a Man to Sense, to Philosophy, to Natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be guides to an outward Moral Vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth

erecteth an abſolute Monarchy in the minds of Men. Therefore *Atheiſm* did never perturb *States*; for it makes Men weary of themſelves, as looking no further: And we ſee the times inclined to *Atheiſm* (as the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*) were civil times. But *Superſtition* hath been the Confuſion of many States, and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that raviſheth all the Spheres of Government. The Maſter of *Superſtition* is the People; and in all *Superſtition*, Wiſe Men follows Fools, and Arguments are fitted to Practice in a reverſed order. It was gravely ſaid by ſome of the Prelates in the *Council* of *Trent*, where the Doctrine of the School-men bare great ſway, *That the School-men were like Aſtronomers, which did feign Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and ſuch Engines of Orbs, to ſave the Phænomena; tho' they knew there were no ſuch things.* And in like manner, that the School-men had framed a number of ſubtil and intricate *Axioms* and *Theorems*, to ſave the practice of the Church. The *Cauſes* of *Superſtitions* are, pleaſing and ſenſual Rites and Ceremonies: Exceſs of Outward and Phariſaical Holineſs: Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church: The Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: The favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties: The taking an aim at Divine Matters by Humane, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations: And laſtly, Barbarous Times, eſpecially joined with Calamities and Diſaſters. *Superſtition* without a Veil is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be ſo like a Man; ſo the ſimilitude of *Superſtition* to *Religion* makes it the more deformed. And as wholeſome Meat corrupteth to little Worms; ſo good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Obſervances. There is a *Superſtition* in avoiding *Superſtition*, when Men think to do beſt, if they go furtheſt from the *Superſtition* formerly received. Therefore Care would be had, that (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which

which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

## XVIII.

## *Of Travel.*

*TRAVEL*, in the younger Sort, is a part of Education; in the elder, a part of Experience. He that *Travelleth* into a Countrey before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School*, and not to *Travel*. That young Men *Travel* under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Countrey before, whereby he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be seen in the Countrey where they go, what Acquaintances they are to seek, what Exercises or Discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young Men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in Sea-Voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travel*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be registred than Observation. Let Diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are the Courts of Princes, especially when they give Audience to Ambassadors: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastick: The Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; and so the Havens and Harbors: Antiquities and Ruines: Libraries, Colleges, Disputations and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Natives: Houses and Gardens of State and Pleasure near great Cities: Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burses, Ware-houses: Exercises

ercises of Horsmanship, Fencing, Training of Soldiers, and the like: Comedies, such whereunto the better sort of Persons do resort. Treasures of Jewels and Robes: Cabinets and Rareties. And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they go. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent Enquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and such Shews; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young Man to put his *Travel* into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as we said, he must have some entrance into the Language before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant or Tutor as knoweth the Countrey, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Chart or Book, describing the Countrey where he *Travelleth*, which will be a good key to his Enquiry. Let him keep also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one City or Town, more or less, as the Place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one end and part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the Company of his Countrey-men, and diet in such Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he *Travelleth*. Let him upon his Removes from one Place to another, procure recommendation to some Person of Quality, residing in the Place whither he removeth, that he may use his Favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travels* with much profit. As for the Acquaintance which is to be sought in *Travel*, that which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and employed Men of Ambassadors; for so in *Travelling* in one Country, he shall suck the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent Persons, in all kinds, which are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame.

For

For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are commonly for Mistresses, Healths, Place, and Words. And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrelsome Persons, for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath *Travelled*, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correspondency by Letters with those of his Acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel or Gesture; and in his Discourse let him be rather advised in his Answers, than forward to tell Stories: And let it appear, that he doth not change his Countrey Manners for those of Foreign Parts; but only prick in some Flowers of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customs of his own Countrey.

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## XIX.

## *Of Empire.*

IT is a miserable State of Mind, to have few things to desire, and many things to fear, and yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing, and have many Representations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the King's heart is inscrutable.* For, multitude of Jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes* many times make themselves desire, and set their Hearts upon Toys: Sometimes upon a Building, sometimes upon erecting of an Order, sometimes upon the advancing of

of a Person, sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some Art or Feat of the Hand; as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principal; *That the mind of Man is more cheared and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that the *Kings* that have been fortunate Conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great, *Diocletian*; and in our Memory, *Charles* the Fifth, and others: For he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true Temper of *Empire*; It is a thing rare, and hard to keep; for both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to interchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him, *What was* Nero's *overthrow?* He answered, Nero *could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth Authority so much, as the unequal and untimely interchange of Power *Pressed* too far, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true, that the Wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: and let Men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of Trouble to be prepared: for no Man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Business are many and great; but the great-

est difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with *Princes* (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solecism of Power, to think to Command the end, and yet not endure the means.

*Kings* have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergy*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*. And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First, For their *Neighbours*: There can no general Rule be given (the occasions are so variable) save one, which ever holdeth, which is, that *Princes* do keep due Centinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do over-grow so, (by increasing of Territory, by imbracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. This is generally the work of standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8*th* of *England*, *Francis* the 1*st*, *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5*th* Emperour, there was such a Watch kept, that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other Two would straight-ways balance it, either by Confederation, or if need were, by a War, and would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League, (which *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, Potentate, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milain*. Neither is the Opinion of some of the School men to be received; *That a War cannot justly be made but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation.* For there is no question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawful Cause of a War.

For their *Wives*: There are cruel examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her Husband: *Roxana*, *Solyman*'s Wife, was the destruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*, and otherwise troubled

bled his Houſe and Succeſſion: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the depoſing and murther of her Husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared, chiefly when the *Wives* have Plots for the raiſing of their own Children, or elſe that they be Advoutreſſes.

For their *Children:* The Tragedies likewiſe of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entring of Fathers into ſuſpicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The deſtruction of *Muſtapha* (that we named before) was ſo fatal to *Solyman*'s Line, as the *Succeſſion* of the *Turks* from *Solyman* until this day, is ſuſpected to be untrue, and of ſtrange Blood; for that *Selymus* the ſecond was thought to be ſuppoſititious. The deſtruction of *Criſpus*, a young Prince of rare towardneſs, by *Conſtantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his Houſe; for both *Conſtantinus* and *Conſtance* his Son died violent Deaths; and *Conſtantius* his other Son did little better, who died indeed of Sickneſs, but after that *Julianus* had taken Arms againſt him. The deſtruction of *Demertius*, Son to *Philip* the Second of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are, but few or none where the Fathers had good by ſuch diſtruſt, except it were where the Sons were up in open Arms againſt them; as was *Selymus* the Firſt againſt *Bajazet*, and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*: When they are proud and great, there is alſo danger from them; as it was in the times of *Anſelmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, who with their Croſiers did almoſt try it with the King's Sword; and yet they had to deal with ſtout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the Firſt, and *Henry* the Second. The danger is not from the *State*, but where it hath a dependance of Foreign Authority; or where the Church-men come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles:* To keep them at a distance it is not amiss, but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility*; whereupon it came to pass, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the *Nobility*, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his Business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their *Second Nobles:* There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt. Besides they are a counterpoize to the higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do best temper popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*: They are *Vena porta*; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes and Imposts upon them, do seldom good to the King's Revenue; for that he wins in the Hundred, he loseth in the Shire; the particular Rates being increased, but the total bulk of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons:* There is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent Heads, or where you meddle with the point of Religion, or their Customs, or means of Life.

For their *Men* of *War:* It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to Donatives, whereof we see examples in the *Janizaries* and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome:* But Trainings of Men, and Arming them in several places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are things of Defence, and no danger.

*Princes* are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evil times; and which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All Precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended

prehended in those two Remembrances, *Memento quod es Homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*; the one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

## XX.

## *Of Counsel.*

THE greatest trust between Man and Man is the trust of *Giving Counsel*: For in other confidences Men commit the parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affair: but to such as they make their *Counsellors*, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any diminution to their Greatness, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsel*. *God* himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Son: The *Counsellor*; *Solomon* hath pronounced, *That in Counsel is Stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation; if they be not tossed upon the Arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the waves of *Fortune*, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken Man. *Solomon*'s Son found the force of *Counsel*, as his Father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill *Counsel*; upon which *Counsel* there are set for instruction the two marks, whereby *Bad Counsel* is for ever best discerned, that it was *young Counsel* for the Persons, and *violent Counsel* for the Matter.

The ancient Times to set forth in figure, both the incorporation, and inseparable conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*, and the wise and politick use of *Counsel* by *Kings*; the one in that they say, *Jupiter* did Marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsel*, whereby they intend that

*Sovereignty* is married to *Counſel*; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They ſay, after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, ſhe conceived by him, and was with Child: but *Jupiter* ſuffered her not to ſtay till ſhe brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himſelf with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head; which monſtrous Fable containeth a ſecret of *Empire*, how *Kings* are to make uſe of their *Council of State*. That firſt they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the firſt begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and ſhaped in the Womb of their *Council*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they ſuffer not their *Council* to go through with the reſolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, becauſe they come forth with *Prudence* and *Power*, are reſembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themſelves: And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add reputation to themſelves) from their *Head* and *Device*.

Let us now ſpeak of the *Inconveniencies* of *Counſel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniencies* that have been noted in calling and uſing *Counſel*, as three: Firſt, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become leſs ſecret. Secondly, the weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were leſs of themſelves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counſelled*, and more for the good of them that *Counſel*, than of him that is *Counſelled*. For which *Inconveniencies*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in ſome Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils*; a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

As to *Secrecy*: *Princes* are not bound to *communicate* all matters with all *Counſellors*, but extract and ſelect. Neither is it neceſſary, that he that conſulteth what he ſhould do, ſhould declare what he will do. But let

*Princes*

*Princes* beware, that the *unsecreting* of their Affairs comes not from themselves. And as for *Cabinet Councils*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum sum:* One futile Person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, than many that know it their Duty to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs which require extream *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two Persons beside the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous; for besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly go on constantly in one Spirit of Direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a *Hand-mill*; and those *Inward Counsellors* had need also be wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *weakning of Authority*: The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay, the Majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished, when they are in the Chair of *Counsel*. Neither was there ever *Prince* bereaved of his dependencies by his *Council*, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one *Councellor*, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsel with an Eye to themselves:* Certainly, *Non invenict fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons. There be, that are in nature, faithful and sincere, and plain, and direct, not crafty and involved: Let *Princes* above all draw to themselves such natures. Besides *Councellors* are not commonly so united, but that one *Councellor* keepeth Centinel over another; so that if any do *Counsel*, out of Faction, or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's Ear. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellors* as well as their *Councellors* know them;

*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*

And on the other side, *Counsellors* should not be too speculative into their Sovereign's Person. The true composition of a *Counsellor*, is rather to be skill'd in their Masters Business, than in his Nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsel*, both separately and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, Men are more obnoxious to others humours: Therefore it is good to take both, And of the inferior sort, rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is vain for *Princes* to take *Counsel*, concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsel* likewise concerning *Persons*: for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the life of the execution of Affairs resteth in the good choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons, *secundum genera*, as in an *Idea* or *Mathematical Description*, what the kind and character of the *Person* should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most Judgment is shewn in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said. *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*; *Books* will speak plain when *Counsellors* blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, especially the *Books* of such as themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The *Councils* at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsel*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken till the next day; *In nocte Consilium*. So was it done in the Commission of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, which was a grave and orderly Assembly. I commend

commend set days for Petitions: for it gives both the Suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere.* In choice of Committees for ripening Business for the *Council*, it is better to chuse indifferent Persons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing *Commissions*; as for Trade, for Treasure, for War, for Suits, for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Councils*, and but one *Council* of *State*, (as it is in *Spain*) they are in effect no more than standing *Commissions*; save that they have greater Authority: Let such as are to inform *Councils* out of their particular Professions (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard before *Committees*, and then, as occasion serves, before the *Council.* And let them not come in multitudes, or in a Tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour *Councils*, not to inform them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seem things of Form, but are things of Substance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper end in effect sway all the business; but in the other Form, there is more use of the *Counsellors* Opinions that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Council*, let him beware how he opens his own Inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else *Counsellors* will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving *Free Counsel*, sing him a Song of *Placebo.*

## XXI.

## *Of Delays.*

FORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like *Sibylla*'s Offer, which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and

and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common Verse) *turneth a bald Noddle, after she hath presented her Locks in Front, and no hold taken*; or at least turneth the handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more Dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with two long shadows, as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies back, and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over-early Buckling towards them, is another extream. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his hundred Eyes, and the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands; first to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politick Man go invisible, is *Secrecy* in the Counsel, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the motion of a Bullet in the Air, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

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## XXII.

## *Of Cunning.*

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a *Cunning* Man and a *Wise* Man, not only in point

point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well: so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise Weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of Business, which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books. Such Men are fitter for Practice than for Counsel: and they are good but in their own Alley, turn them to new Men, and they have lost their Aim: So as the old Rule to know a Fool from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of *Cunning* to wait upon him, with whom you speak, with your Eye, as the Jesuits give it in Precept: For there may be many wise Men that have secret Hearts and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the Party with whom you deal, with some other Discourse, that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a *Councellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind the Bills.

The like surprize may be made by moving things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a Man would cross a Business, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foyl it.

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The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, than if you offer it of your self; you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the Party to ask, what the matter is of the Change, as *Nehemiah* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the Ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the other Speech; as *Narcissus* did in relating to *Claudius* the marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius.*

In things that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to say, *The World says*, or, *There is a Speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most material in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would pass over that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again and speak of it, as a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surpriz'd at such times, as it is like the Party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustumed; to the end they may be opposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of *Cunning*, to let fall those words in a Man's own Name, which he would have another Man learn

learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretaries Place, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, and yet kept good Quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the Business; and one of them said, That to be a Secretary in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a tickliſh thing, and that he did not affect it: The other ſtrait caught up thoſe Words, and diſcourſed with divers of his Friends, That he had no reaſon to deſire to be a Secretary in the *Declining of a Monarchy*. The firſt Man took hold of it, and found means it was told the *Queen*, Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it ſo ill, as ſhe would never after hear of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The turning of the Cat in Pan*; which is, when that which a Man ſays to another, he lays it as if another had ſaid it to him; and to ſay truth, it is not eaſie, when ſuch a matter paſs'd between two, to make it appear from which of them it firſt moved and began.

It is a way that ſome Men have to glance and dart at others, by juſtifying themſelves by Negatives; as to ſay, *This I did not:* As *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*; *Se non diverſas ſpes, ſed incolumitatem Imperatoris ſimpliciter ſpectare.*

Some have in readineſs ſo many Tales and Stories, as there is nothing they would inſinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale, which ſerveth both to keep themſelves more in Guard, and carry it with more Pleaſure.

It is a good point of *Cunning*, for a Man to ſhape the Anſwer he would have in his own Words and Propoſitions; for it makes the other Party ſtick the leſs.

It is ſtrange, how long ſome Men will lie in wait to ſpeak ſomewhat they deſire to ſay, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of great Patience, but yet of much Uſe.

A ſud-

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprize a Man and lay him open: Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walked in *Pauls*, another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat streight-ways he looked back.

But these small Wares, and petty points of *Cunning* are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* pass for *Wise*.

But certainly some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Business, that cannot sink into the Main of it: Like a House that hath convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate Matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some built rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *Putting tricks upon them*; than upon the soundness of their own proceedings. But *Solomon* saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos, Stultus divertit ad dolos.*

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## XXIII.

## *Of Wisdom for a Mans self.*

AN *Ant* is a *wise creature* for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly Men that are great *Lovers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publick. Divide with reason between *Self-love* and *Society*, and be so true to thy *Self*, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy King and Country. It is a poor Center of a Mans Actions, *Himself*. It is right Earth; for that only stands fast upon its own Center; whereas all things that have affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another which they benefit. The referring

ring of all to a *Mans Self*, is more tolerable in a Sovereign Prince; because *Themselves*, are not only *Themselves*, but their Good and Evil is at the Peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a Mans hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often Eccentrick to the ends of his Master or State: Therefore let Princes or States chuse such Servants as have not this mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost; it were dis-proportion enough for the Servants good, to be preferred before the Masters; but yet it is a greater extream, when a little good of the Servant shall carry things against the great good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of bad *Officers*, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants, which set a Byas upon their Bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their Masters great and important Affairs. And for the most part, the Good which Servants receive, is after the model of their own fortune; but the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the model of their Masters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extream *Self-Lovers*, as they will set an House on fire, if it were but to roast their Eggs: And yet these Men many times hold credit with their Masters, because their Study is but to please them, and profit *Themselves*; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their Affairs.

*Wisdom for a Mans self* is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*, that will be sure to leave the House sometime before it falls. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are, *Sui amantes sine rivali*,

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are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *Themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose wings they thought by their *Self-Wisdom* to have pinnioned.

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## XXIV.

### *Of Innovation.*

AS the births of living Creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all *Innovations*, which are the births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than most that succeed: So the first Precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For ill to Mans nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance: But Good as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation*; and he that will not apply new Remedies, must expect new Evils: for Time is the greatest *Innovator*. And if Time of course alter things to the worse, and Wisdom and Counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new things piece not so well: But though they help by their utility, yet, they trouble by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers*, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention of Custom is as turbulent a thing, as an *Innovation*: and they that reverence too much old Times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations* would follow the example of Time

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it ſelf; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, ſcarce to be perceived: for otherwiſe whatſoever is new, is unlooked for; and ever it mends ſome, and pairs other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a Wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good alſo, not to try Experiments in States, except the neceſſity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware, that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the deſire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And laſtly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a ſuſpect: And as the Scripture ſaith, *That we make a ſtand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and diſcover what is the ſtreight and right way, and ſo to walk in it.*

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## XXV.

## *Of Diſpatch.*

*Affected Diſpatch* is one of the moſt dangerous things to Buſineſs that can be. It is like that which the Phyſicians call *Ire-digeſtion*, or *Haſty Digeſtion*, which is ſure to fill the Body full of Crudities, and ſecret ſeeds of Diſeaſes. Therefore meaſure not Diſpatch by the times of ſitting, but by the advancement of the Buſineſs. And as in Races, it is not the large ſtride, or high Lift that makes the Speed; ſo in Buſineſs, the keeping cloſe to the Matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth *Diſpatch*. It is the care of ſome only to come off ſpeedily for the time, or to contrive ſome falſe Periods of Buſineſs, becauſe they may ſeem *Men of Diſpatch*. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and Buſineſs ſo handled at ſeveral ſittings or meetings, goeth commonly

backward or forward in an unſteady manner. I knew a *Wiſe Man*, that had it for a by-word, when he ſaw Men haſten to a Concluſion; *Stay a little, that we may make an end the ſooner.*

On the other ſide, *True Diſpatch* is a rich thing. For Time is the meaſure of Buſineſs, as Money is of Wares; and Buſineſs is bought at a dear hand, where there is ſmall *Diſpatch.* The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of ſmall *Diſpatch*, *Mivenga la Muerte de Spagna, Let my death come from* Spain, for then it will be ſure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to thoſe that give the firſt Information in Buſineſs; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own order, will go forward and backward, and more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on in his own courſe. But ſometimes it is ſeen, that the Moderator is more troubleſome than the Actor.

*Iterations* are commonly loſs of Time, but there is no ſuch gain of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Queſtion*; for it chaſeth away many a frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for *Diſpatch*, as a Robe or a Mantle with a long train is for a Race.

Prefaces and Paſſages, and Excuſations, and other Speeches of reference to the Perſon, are great waſters of time; and though they ſeem to proceed of modeſty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material, when there is any impediment or obſtruction in Mens Wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth Preface of Speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Diſtribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Diſpatch*: ſo as the *Diſtribution* be not too ſubtle; for he that doth not divide, will never enter well into buſineſs: and he that divideth

deth too much will never come out of it clearly. To chuse time, is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the Air. There be three parts of Business; the *Preparation*, *the Debate* or *Examination*, and the *Perfection*; whereof if you look for *Dispatch* let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of direction, than an *Indefinite*; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

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## XXVI.

## *Of Seeming Wise.*

IT hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between *Nations*, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godliness*, *having a shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof*; so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that to do nothing or little very solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a Satyr, to Persons of Judgment, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what prospectives to make *Superficies* to seem *Body*, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others, to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with Countenance and Gesture, and

are wise by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it, by speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and so will have their Ignorance seem Judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing Men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom *A. Gellius* saith, *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorn, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such Men in all deliberations find ease to be of the Negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretel difficulties: For when Propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of Wisdom is the bane of Business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their Wealth, as these empty Persons have to maintain the credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise Men* may make shift to get Opinion, but let no Man chuse them for employment; for certainly you were better take for business a Man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

# XXVII.

## *Of Friendſhip.*

IT had been hard for him that ſpake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that Speech, *Whoſoever is delighted in Solitude, is either a wild Beaſt, or a God.* For it is moſt true, that a natural and ſecret hatred, and averſation towards *Society* in any Man, hath ſomewhat of the Savage Beaſt; but it is moſt untrue, that it ſhould have any Character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed not out of a pleaſure in *Solitude*, but out of a love and deſire to ſequeſter a Mans ſelf for a higher Converſation; ſuch as is found to have been falſly and feignedly in ſome of the Heathen, as *Epimenides* the *Candian*, *Numa* the *Roman*, *Empedocles* the *Sicilian*, and *Apollonius* of *Tyana*; and truly and really in divers of the ancient Hermits and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little do Men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how far it extendeth: for a Crown is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a *Tinking Cymbal*, where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with a little, *Magna Civitas, magna ſolitudo*; becauſe in a great Town *Friends* are ſcattered, ſo that there is not that fellowſhip, for the moſt part, which is in leſs *Neighbourhoods*. But we may go farther, and affirm moſt truly, that is a meer and miſerable *Solitude* to want *Friends*, without which the World is but a Wilderneſs: And even in this Senſe alſo of *Solitude*, whoſoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for *Friendſhip*, he taketh it of the Beaſt, and not from Humanity.

A Principal *Fruit of Friendſhip* is, the Eaſe and Diſcharge of the Fulneſs and Swellings of the Heart, which Paſſions of all kinds do cauſe and induce. We know

Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the Body, and it is not much otherwise in Mind: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver, *Steel* to open the Spleen, *Flower* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs, *Castoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart to oppress it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange thing to observe, how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this *Fruit* of *Friendship* whereof we speak; so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the Distance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit, except (to make themselves, capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were, Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times forteth to Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the Name of *Favourites* or *Privadoes*, as if it were matter of Grace or Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, naming them *Participes Curarum*; for it is that which tieth the knot, And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate Princes only, but by the Wisest, and most Politick that ever reigned: who have oftentimes joyned to themselves some of their Servants, whom both themselves have called *Friends*, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between Private Men.

*L. Sylla*, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted himself for *Sylla*'s Over-match: For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a friend of his against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that*

*more*

*more Men adored the Sun-riſing than the Sun-ſetting.* With *Julius*, *Decius Brutus* had obtained that Intereſt, as he ſet him down in his Teſtament, for Heir in Remainder after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man that had Power with him, to draw him forth to his Death. For when *Cæſar* would have diſcharged the Senate, in regard of ſome ill preſages, and eſpecially a Dream of *Calpurnia*; This Man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not diſmiſs the Senate, till his Wife had dreamed a better Dream. And it ſeemeth his favour was ſo great, as *Antonius* in a Letter which is recited *Verbatim* in one of *Cicero*'s *Philippiques*, called him *Fenefica*, *Witch*; as if he had enchanted *Cæſar*. *Auguſtus* raiſed *Agrippa* (though of mean Birth) to that Heighth, as when he conſulted with *Mœcenas* about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mœcenas* took the Liberty to tell him, *That he muſt either marry his Daughter to* Agrippa, *or take away his Life*; *there was no third way, he had made him ſo great.* With *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Sejanus* had aſcended to that Heighth, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of *Friends*. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him, ſaith, *Hac pro Amicitia noſtra non occultavi*; and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to *Friendſhip*, as to a *Goddeſs*, in reſpect of the great Dearneſs of *Friendſhip* between them too. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus* and *Plantianus*; for he forced his eldeſt Son to marry the Daughter of *Plantianus*, and would maintain *Plantianus* in doing affronts to his Son, and did write alſo in a Letter to the Senate theſe words; *I love the Man ſo well, as I wiſh he may overlove me.* Now if theſe Princes had been as *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant goodneſs of Nature; but being Men ſo wiſe, of ſuch ſtrength and ſeverity of Mind, and ſo extream Lovers of themſelves, as all theſe were; it proveth moſt plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to Mortal Man) but as an half Piece, except they might have

a *Friend* to make it Entire; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes* that had Wives, Sons, Nephews, and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship.*

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commines* observeth of his Master, *Duke Charles* the *Hardy*; namely, That he would communicate his Secrets with none; and least of all those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time; *That closeness did impair, and a little perish his understanding.* Surely, *Commines* might have made the same Judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master, *Lewis* the Eleventh, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true. *Cor ne edito*, *Eat not the Heart.* Certainly if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Heart.* But one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *Friendship,*) which is, That this Communicating of a Man's Self to a *Friend*, works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth *Joys*, and cutteth *Griefs* in Halfs; for there is no Man that imparteth his *Joys* to his *Friend*, but he *Joyeth* the more; and no Man that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend*, but he *grieveth* the less. So that it is in truth an Operation upon a Man's Mind of like Vertue, as the *Alchimists* use to attribute to their Stone for Man's Body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature; but yet without bringing in the Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this in the ordinary course of Nature: For in Bodies *Union* strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural Action; and on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression; and even so it is of Minds.

The second *Fruit* of *Friendship* is Healthful and Sovereign for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the Affections; for *Friendship* maketh indeed a *fair Day* in the *Affections* from Storm and Tempests; but it maketh *Daylight* in the *Affections* from Tempests; but it maketh *Day-*

*light*

*light* in the *Understanding* out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel which a Man receiveth from his *Friend*: but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do Clarifie and break up in the Communicating and Discoursing with another; he tosseth his Thoughts more easily, he marshalleth them more orderly, he seeth how they look when they are turned into Words. Finally, he waxeth wiser than Himself; and that more by an hours Discourse, than by a days Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*, *That Speech was like Cloth of Arras opened and put abroad*; *whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts they lie but as in Packs.* Neither is this second *Fruit* of *Friendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained only to such *Friends* as are able to give a Man Counsel; (they indeed are best) but even without that a Man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which its self cuts not. In a Word, a Man were better relate himself to a Statue or Picture, than to suffer his Thoughts to pass in smother.

And now to make this second *Fruit* of *Friendship* compleat, that other Point which lieth open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation, which is *Faithful Counsel* from a *Friend*. *Heraclitus* saith well in one of his Ænigma's; *Dry Light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the Light that a Man receiveth by *Counsel* from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own *Understanding* and *Judgment*, which is ever infused and drenched in his *Affections* and Customs, so as there is as much difference between the *Counsel* that a *Friend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himself, as there is between the *Counsel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*; for there is no such *Flatterer* as in a Man's Self; and there is no such remedy against *Flattery* of a Man's Self, as the liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsel* is of two sorts; the

one

one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Business*. For the first; the best preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The calling of a Man's self to a strict account is a Medicine sometime too piercing and corrosive. Reading good Books of Morality, is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our Faults in others, is sometimes unproper for our case. But the best Receipt (best, I say) to work, and best to take, is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what gross Errors, and extream absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a *Friend* to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune: for, as St. *James* saith, they were as Men *that look sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*. As for *Business*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one, or that a Gamester seeth always more than a looker on; or that a Man in Anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or that Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arm, as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high Imaginations, to think himself All in All. But when all is done, the help of good *Counsel* is that which setteth Business streight; and if any Man think that he will take *Counsel*, but it shall be by pieces, asking *Counsel* in one business of one Man, and in another business of another Man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he ask'd none at all) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not faithfully be Counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have *Counsel* given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other that he shall have *Counsel* given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt; partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good for the cure of the Disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your Body; and therefore may put you

in

in a way for preſent Cure, but overthroweth your Health in ſome other kind, and ſo cure the Diſeaſe, and kill the Patient. But a *Friend* that is wholly acquainted with a Man's Eſtate, will beware by furthering any preſent *Buſineſs*, how he daſheth upon other Inconvenience; and therefore reſts not upon *ſcattered Counſels*, for they will rather diſtract and miſ-lead, than ſettle and direct.

After theſe two noble *Fruits* of *Friendſhip*, (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgment*) followeth the laſt *Fruit* which is like the *Pomegranate*, full of many kernels; I mean *Aid*, and *Bearing a part* in all *Actions* and *Occaſions*. Here the beſt way to repreſent to the life the manifold uſe of *Friendſhip*, is to caſt and ſee, how many things there are, which a Man cannot do himſelf; and then it will appear, that it was a ſparing Speech of the Ancients, to ſay, *That a Friend is another himſelf*; for that a *Friend* is far more than himſelf. Men have their time, and die many times in deſire of ſome things, which they principally take to *heart*; The beſtowing of a Child, the finiſhing of a Work, or the like. If a Man have a true *Friend*, he may reſt almoſt ſecure, that the care of thoſe things will continue after him: So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his deſires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a place; but where *Friendſhip* is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to him and his Deputy; for he may exerciſe them by his *Friend*. How many things are there, which a Man cannot, with any face or comlineſs, ſay or do himſelf? A Man can ſcarce alledge his own merits with modeſty, much leſs extol them: A Man cannot ſometimes brook to ſupplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all theſe things are graceful in a *Friend's* Mouth, which are bluſhing in a Man's own. So again, a Man's Perſon hath many proper Relations, Which he cannot put off. A Man cannot ſpeak to his Son, but as a Father; to his Wife but as a Husband; to his Enemy, but upon terms. Whereas a

*Friend*

*Friend* may speak as the case requires and not as it sorteth with the Person: But to enumerate these things were endless: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his own part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may quit the Stage.

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## XXVIII.

## *Of Expence.*

*RICHES* are for spending, and spending for Honour and good Actions: Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the worth of the occasion. For *Voluntary Undoing* may be as well for a Man's *Country*, as for the *Kingdom of Heaven*, but *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Man's Estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of Servants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bills may be less than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be but to the half his Receipts: And if he think to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own *Estate*. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken; but Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own Estate at all, had need both chuse well those whom he employeth, and change them oftner; for new are more timerous, and less subtle. He that can look into his Estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainty. A Man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of *Expence*, to be as saving again in some other: As if he be plentiful in Diet, to be saving in Apparel: If he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable, and the like. For he that is plentiful in *Expences* of all kinds,

will

will hardly be preſerved from decay. In clearing of a Man's Eſtate, he may as well hurt himſelf, in being too ſudden, as in letting it run on too long. For haſty Selling is commonly as diſadvantageous as Intereſt. Beſides, he that clears at once will relapſe; for finding himſelf out of ſtreights, he will revert to his Cuſtoms: But he that cleareth by degrees, induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his Mind as upon his Eſtate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not deſpiſe ſmall things: And commonly it is leſs diſhonourable to abridge petty Charges, than to ſtoop to petty Gettings. A Man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

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## XXIX.

### *Of the true Greatneſs of Kingdoms and Eſtates.*

THE Speech of *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking ſo much to himſelf, had been a grave and wiſe Obſervation and Cenſure, applyed at large to others, Deſired at a Feaſt to touch a Lute, he ſaid, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a ſmall Town a great City.* Theſe words, (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may expreſs two differing abilities in thoſe that deal in buſineſs of Eſtate. For if a true Survey be taken of Counſellors and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) thoſe which can make a *ſmall State great*, and yet cannot *fiddle*: As on the other ſide, there will be found a great many that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are ſo far from being able to make a *ſmall State great*, as their Gift lieth the

the other way, to bring a great and flourishing Estate to ruin and decay. And certainly those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellors and Governors gain both favour with their Masters, and estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than *Fidling*, being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement to the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governours which may be held sufficient (*Negotiis pares*) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifest inconveniencies, which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplifie an Estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the Workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work; That is, the *true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, and the *Means* thereof. An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their Hand, to the end, that neither by over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vain Enterprises nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusilanimous *Counsels.*

The *Greatness* of an Estate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under measure; and the *Greatness* of Finances and Revenue, doth fall under computation. The Population may appear by Musters, and the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any thing among Civil Affairs, more subject to error, than the right valuation, and true judgment, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.

The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Mustard-seed*, which is one of the least Grains, but hath in it a property and Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are their States great in Territory, and yet not apt to Enlarge or Command; and some that have but a small dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled

Walled Towns, Stored Arsenals and Armories. Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lyon's Skin, except the breed and disposition of the People be stout and warlike. Nay, Number (it self) in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak courage: For, (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolf, how many the Sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexander*'s Army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by Night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory:* And the Defeat was easie.

When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14000 marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder Men are too many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight:* But before the Sun set, he found them enough to give him the Chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of great odds between Number and Courage: so that a Man may truly make a Judgment, That the principal point of *Greatness* in any *State*, is, to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinews of Mens Arms in Base and Effeminate People are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Crœsus*, (when in ostentation he shewed him his *Gold*) *Sir, if any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therefore let any Prince or State think soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes on the other side, that have Subjects of Martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Help in this Case) all examples shew, that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them, *He may spread*

his

*his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The *Blessing* of *Judas* and *Issachar* will never meet, *That the same People or Nation should be both the Lions whelp, and Ass between Burthens:* Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the State, do abate Mens Courage less, as it hath been seen notably in the *Exercises* of the *Low Countries*; and in some degree in the *Subsidies* of *England:* for you must note, that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage: so that you may conclude, *That no People over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aim at *Greatness*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen* do multiply too fast: For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peasant and a base Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but a *Gentlemans* Laborour: even as you may see in Coppice Woods. *If you leave your Stadles too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in *Countries*, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base: and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth Poll will be fit be for an Helmet; especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army; and so there will be great Population and little strength. This which I speak of, hath been no where better seen, than by comparing of *England* and *France:* whereof *England*, though far less in Territory and Population hath been nevertheless an Over-match; in regard the *Middle People* of *England* make good Soldiers, which the Peasants of *France* do not. And herein the device of K. *Henry* the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was profound and Admirable in making Farms and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard: That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject to

live

live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the hands of the Owners and not meer Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to *Virgil*'s Character which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

——— *Terra potens armisque atque ubere Gleba.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I mean the *State* of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, which are no ways inferiour to the *Yeomanry* for Arms: and therefore, out of all Question, the Splendor and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* received into custom, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatness*: Whereas contrariwise, the close and reserved Living of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means it is to be procured, that the *Trunk* of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs; that is, That the *Natural Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a sufficient Proportion to the *Stranger Subjects* that they govern. Therefore all States that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handful of People can with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People in point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were become too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall upon the sudden. Never any State was in this Point so open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*, therefore it sorted with them accordingly: for they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the

higheſt Degree; that is, not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hæreditatis*, but alſo *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to ſingular Perſons alone, but likewiſe to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and ſometimes to Nations. Add to this their Cuſtom of *Plantation* of *Colonies*, whereby the *Roman* Plant was removed into the Soil of other Nations; and putting both Conſtitutions together, you will ſay, that it was not the *Romans* that ſpread upon the *World*, but it was the *World* that ſpread upon the *Romans*; and that was the ſure Way of *Greatneſs*. I have marvelled ſometimes at *Spain*, how they claſp and contain ſo large Dominions with ſo few natural *Spaniards*: But ſure the whole Compaſs of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree, far above *Rome* and *Sparta* at the firſt: And beſides, though they have not had that uſage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *To employ, almoſt indifferently, all Nations in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*; yea, and ſometimes in their *Higheſt Commands*. Nay, it ſeemeth at this inſtant, they are ſenſible of this want of Natives, as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now publiſhed, appeareth.

It is certain, that *Sedentary* and *Within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures, (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military Diſpoſition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and love Danger better than Travel: neither muſt they be too much broken of it, if they ſhall be preſerved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the uſe of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid thoſe Manufactures; but that is aboliſhed in greateſt part by the *Chriſtian Law*. That which cometh neareſt to it, is to leave thoſe Arts chiefly to Strangers (which for that purpoſe are the more eaſily to be received) and to contain the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within thoſe three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground, *Free Servants*, and *Handicrafts* Men of ſtrong

and

and manly Arts; as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, *&c.* not reckoning professed Soldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatness* it importeth most, that a Nation do profess Arms as their principal Honour, Study and Occupation: For the things which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Arms; and what is *Habilitation*, without *Intention* and *Act? Romulus* after his death (as they report or feign) sent a Present to the *Romans*, that above all they should intend Arms, and then they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the *State* of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that Scope and End. The *Persians* and *Macedonians* had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others had it for a time. The *Turks* have it at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are in effect only the *Spaniards*. But it is so plain, *That every Man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it, that no Nation which doth not directly profess Arms, may look to have *Greatness* fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle of Time, that those States that continue long in that profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed Arms but for an Age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that *Greatness* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Arms are grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is, for a State to have those Laws or Customs which may reach forth unto them just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War: For there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities do ensue) but upon some, or at least specious Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, a

Quarrel that he may always command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed the extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done; yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a War. First therefore, let Nations that pretend to *Greatness*, have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon Borders, Merchants, or Politick Ministers, and that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates; as it ever was with the *Romans*: Insomuch as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers others States, and upon Invasion offered, did deplore their Aids severally; yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the Honour. As for the Wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Estate, I do not well say, how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Græcia*; or when the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* made Wars to set up or pull down *Democracies* and *Oligarchies*; or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Justice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny and Oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthful without *Exercise*, Neither Natural Body, nor Politick; and certainly to a *Kingdom* or *Estate*, a just and Honourable War is the true *Exercise*. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keep the Body in health: For in a slothful Peace both Courages will effeminate, and Manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happiness without all Question; for *Greatness*, it maketh to be still, for the most part in Arms; and the strength of a Veterane Army (though it be a chargeable Business) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law,

Law, or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour-States; as may well be seen in *Spain*, which hath had in one part or other a Veterane Army, almost continually, now by the space of sixscore years.

To be Master of the *Sea*, in an Abridgment of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith, *Consilium Pompeii planè Themistocleum est*; *Putat enim qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battels by *Sea*. The Battel of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battel of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatness of the *Turk*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* have been Final to the War: But this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest upon the Battels. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will; whereas those that be strongest by Land, are many times nevertheless in great streights. Surely at this day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of strength at Sea (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*) is great: Both because most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* are not meerly In-land, but 'girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compass; and because the Wealth of both *Indies* seem in great part but an Accessary to the Command of the *Sea*.

The *Wars* of *Latter Ages* seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the *Wars* in *Ancient Time*. There be now for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers, and no Soldiers; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutcheon; and some Hospitals for maimed Soldiers, and such like things. But in Ancient Times, the *Trophies* erected upon the Place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Mo-

numents for those that died in the Wars; the Crowns and Garlands personal; the Style of Emperor, which the great King of the World after borrowed; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return; the great Donatives and Largesses upon the disbanding of the Armies, were things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, that of the Triumph amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageant or Gawdry, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was: For it contained three things; Honour to the General; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoil; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour perhaps were not fit for *Monarchies*, except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himself, or his Sons; as it came to pass in the times of the *Roman Emperors*, who did impropriate the Actual Triumphs to themselves, and their Sons, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Persons; and left only for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphal Garments and Ensigns to the General.

To conclude, No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *add a Cubit to his Stature*, in this little Model of a *Man*'s *Body*; but in the great Frame of *Kingdoms* and *Common-wealths*, it is in the Power of Princes or Estates to add Amplitude and *Greatness* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatness* to their Posterity and Succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

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## XXX.

## *Of Regiment of Health.*

THERE is a Wisdom in this beyond the Rules of *Physick*: A Man's own Observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best *Physick* to

to preſerve Health. But it is a ſafer concluſion to ſay, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may uſe it.* For ſtrength of Nature in Youth paſſeth over many Exceſſes which are owing by a Man till his Age. Diſcern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the ſame things ſtill; for Age will not be defied. Beware of ſudden change in any great point of Diet; and if neceſſity inforce it, fit the reſt to it: For it is a Secret both in Nature and State, that it is ſafer to change many things than one. Examine thy Cuſtoms of Diet, Sleep, Exerciſe, Apparel, and the like: And try in any thing thou ſhalt judge hurtful, to diſcontinue it by little and little; but ſo, as if thou doſt find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to diſtinguiſh that which is generally held good and wholeſome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for a Mans own Body. To be free minded, and chearfully diſpoſed at hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exerciſe, is one of the beſt Precepts for long Life. As for the Paſſions and Studies of the Mind; avoid Envy, anxious Fears, Anger fretting inwards, ſubtil and knotty Inquiſitions, Joys, and Exhilarations in Exceſs, Sadneſs not communicated; entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights, rather than ſurfeit of them, Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties, Studies that fill the Mind with ſplendid and illuſtrious Objects, as Hiſtories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly Phyſick in *Health* altogether, it will be too ſtrange for your Body when you ſhall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when Sickneſs cometh. I commend rather ſome Diet for certain Seaſons, than frequent uſe of *Phyſick*, except it be grown into a Cuſtom: For thoſe Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it leſs. Deſpiſe no new Accident in your Body, but ask opinion of it. In *Sickneſs* reſpect *Health* principally, and in *Health*, *Action*; For thoſe that put their Bodies

to endure in *Healths* may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharp, be cured only with Diet and tending. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a wise Man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great Precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man do vary, and interchange Contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign Extream. Use Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise, and the like; So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the humour of the Patient, as they press not the true cure of the Disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle Temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

## XXXI.

## *Of Suspicion.*

*SUSPICIONS* amongst Thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at least well guarded; for they cloud the Mind, they leese Friends, that they check with Business, whereby Business cannot go on currant and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take place in the stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, there was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout:

And

And in ſuch a compoſition they do ſmall hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination whether they be likely or no; but in fearful Natures they gain ground too faſt. There is nothing makes a Man *ſuſpect* much, more than to know little; and therefore Men ſhould remedy *Suſpicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suſpicions* in ſmother. What would Men have? Do they think thoſe they imploy and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own Ends, and be truer to themſelves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to *moderate Suſpicions*, than to account upon ſuch *Suſpicions* as true, and yet to bridle them as falſe. For ſo far a Man ought to make uſe of *Suſpicions*, as to provide, as if that ſhould be true that he *ſuſpects*, yet it may do him no hurt. *Suſpicions* that the mind of it ſelf gathers are but Buzzes, but *Suſpicions* that are artificially nouriſhed, and put into *Mens heads* by the *tales* and whiſpering of others, have Stings. Certainly the beſt means to clear the way in this ſame Wood of *Suſpicions*, is frankly to communicate them with the Party that he *ſuſpects*; for thereby he ſhall be ſure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal, ſhall make that Party more circumſpect, not to give further cauſe of *Suſpicion*. But this would not be done to Men of baſe Natures: For they, if they find themſelves once *ſuſpected*, will never be true. The *Italians* ſay, *Soſpetto licentia fede*; as if *Suſpicion* did give a Paſsport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to diſcharge it ſelf.

## XXXII.

## *Of Diſcourſe.*

SOME in their *Diſcourſe* deſire rather commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment in diſcerning what is true: As if it were

were a praiſe to know what might be ſaid, and not what ſhould be thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of Poverty is for the moſt part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourableſt part of Talk, is to give the occaſion, again, to moderate and paſs to ſomewhat elſe; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in *Diſcourſe* and Speech of Converſation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the preſent occaſion with Arguments, Tales with Reaſons, asking of Queſtions with telling of Opinions, and Jeſt with Earneſt: For it is a dull thing to Tire, and as we ſay now, to Jade any thing too far. As for Jeſt, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Perſons, any Man's preſent Buſineſs of Importance, and any Caſe that deſerveth pity. Yet there be ſome that think their Wits have been aſleep, except they dart out ſomewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: That is a Vein which ſhould be bridled.

*Parce, Puer, ſtimulis, & fortius utere loris.*

And generally Men ought to find the difference between Saltneſs and Bitterneſs. Certainly he that hath a Satyrical Vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, ſo he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that queſtioneth much, ſhall learn much, and content much; but eſpecially if he apply his Queſtions to the skill of the Perſons whom he asketh: For he ſhall give them occaſion to pleaſe themſelves in ſpeaking, and himſelf ſhall continually gather knowledge. But let his Queſtions not be troubleſome; for that is fit for a Poſer: And let him be ſure to leave other Men their turns to ſpeak. Nay, if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as Muſicians uſe to do with thoſe that dance too long Galliards. If you diſſemble ſometimes your

your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you ſhall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a Man's ſelf ought to be ſeldom, and well choſen. I knew one was wont to ſay in ſcorn, *He muſt needs be a Wiſe Man, he ſpeaks ſo much of himſelf:* And there is but one caſe, wherein a Man may commend himſelf with good Grace, and that is, in commending Vertue in another; eſpecially if it be ſuch a Vertue whereunto himſelf pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others ſhould be ſparingly uſed: For *Diſcourſe* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen* of the Weſt part of *England*, whereof the one was given to ſcoff, but kept ever Royal Cheer in his Houſe: The other would ask of thoſe that had been at the others Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given?* To which the Gueſt would anſwer, *Such and ſuch a thing paſſed:* The Lord would ſay, *I thought he would mar a good Dinner. Diſcretion* of *Speech* is more than *Eloquence*; and to ſpeak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to ſpeak in good words or in good order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, ſhews ſlowneſs; and a good Reply, or ſecond Speech without a good ſettled Speech, ſheweth Shallowneſs and Weakneſs; as we ſee in Beaſts, that thoſe that are weakeſt in the Courſe, are yet nimbleſt in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound and the Hare. To uſe too many Circumſtances ere one come to the Matter, is wearieſome; to uſe none at all, is blunt.

## XXXIII.

### *Of Plantations.*

*PLANTATIONS* are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soil, that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* others; for else it is rather an Extirpation, than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countreys is like *Planting* of Woods; for you must make account to lose almost Twenty years Profit, and expect your Recompence in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most *Plantations*, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant:* and not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*; for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary; and then certifie over to their Countrey to the discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you Plant, ought to be Gard'ners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joiners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Countrey of *Plantation*, first look about what kind of Victual the Countrey yields of it self to hand; as Chesnuts, Walnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumbs, Cherries, Wild-Honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what Victual, or Esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as Parsnips,

Carrots,

Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Raddish, Artichoaks of *Jerusalem*, *Maiz*, and the like. For Wheat, Barley, and Oats, they ask too much labour: But with Pease and Beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great encrease, and it is a kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of Bisket, Oat-meal Flour, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, 'till Bread may be had. For Beasts and Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, and the like. The Victual in *Plantations* ought to be expended, almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with a certain Allowance; and let the main part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, besides some Spots of ground that any particular Person will manure for his own private Use. Consider likewise what Commodities the Soil, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business; as it hath fared with *Tabaco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ore, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave Commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay-Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing Silk likewise if any be, is a likely Commodity. Pitch and Tar, where store of Firs and Pines are will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap-Ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground; for the hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the *Planters* lazy in other things. For Government, let it be in the hands of one assisted with some Counsel;

and

and let them have commission to exercise Martial Laws with some limitation. And above all, Let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderness, as they have God always, and his Service before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation* depend upon too many Counsellors and Undertakers in the Country that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms for Custom, till the *Plantation* be of Strength; and not only Freedom from Custom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make the best of them, except there be some special cause of Caution. Cram not in People, by sending too fast, Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; but so, as the number may live well in the *Plantation*, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the Health of the *Plantation*, that they have good store of Salt with them, that they may use it in their Victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant* where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles and Gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their Favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the Country that *Plant*, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to strength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women as well as with Men, that the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the World to forsake or destitute a

*Plantation*

*Plantation* once in forwardneſs; for beſides the diſhonour, it is guiltineſs of Blood of many commiſerable Perſons.

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## XXXIV.

## *Of Riches.*

I Cannot call *Riches* better than the baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*; for as the Baggage is to an Army, ſo is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be ſpared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March: Yea, and the care of it ſometimes loſeth or diſturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches* there is no real uſe, except it be in the Diſtribution, the reſt is but conceit: So ſaith *Solomon*, *Where much is there are many to conſume it*; *and what hath the owner, but the ſight of it with his eyes?* The perſonal Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feel great *Riches*: There is a Cuſtody of them, or a Power of Dole and Donative of them, or a Fame of them, but no ſolid uſe to the Owner. Do you not ſee what feigned Prices are ſet upon little Stones and Rareties? And what works of Oſtentation are undertaken, becauſe there might ſeem to be ſome uſe of great *Riches?* But then you will ſay, they may be of uſe to buy Men out of dangers or troubles: As *Solomon* ſaith, *Riches are a ſtrong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expreſſed, That it is in *Imagination*, and not always in *Fact*: For certainly great *Riches* have ſold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not proud *Riches*, but ſuch as thou mayeſt get juſtly, uſe ſoberly, diſtribute chearfully and leave contentedly: Yet have no Abſtract nor Friarly contempt of them, but diſtinguiſh, as *Cicero* ſaith well of *Rabirius Poſthumus*; *In ſtudio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non Avaritiæ prædam, ſed inſtrumentum Bonitatis, quæri.* Hearken

ken also to *Solomon*, and beware of hasty gathering of *Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons.* The Poets feign, that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of Foot; meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good means, and just labour, pace slowly: But when they come by the death of others, (as by the course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil; for when *Riches* come from the Devil (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust means) they come upon Speed. *The ways to inrich* are many, and most of them foul; *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it with-holdeth Men from Works of Liberality and Charity. The *Improvement of the ground* is the most natural obtaining of *Riches*; for it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths, but it is slow; and yet where the Men of great wealth do stoop to Husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman of *England*, that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my Time: A great Grasier, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-man, a great Collier, a great Corn-Master, a great Lead-man, and so of Iron, and a number of the like points of Husbandry; so as the Earth seemed a Sea to him in respect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by One, that himself came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very easily to great *Riches*; for when a Man's Stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargains, which for their greatness are few Mens money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but increase mainly. The *Gains* of *ordinary Trades* and *Vocations* are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by Diligence, and by a good Name, for good and fair dealing. But the *Grains* of *Bargains* are of a more doubtful Nature, when Men shall wait upon others Necessity, broke by Servants and Instru-

ments

ments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like practices which are crafty and naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *inrich*, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest means of Gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In sudore vultus alieni*: And besides, doth plow upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers do value unsound Men to serve their own turn. The *Fortune*, in being the first in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the first Sugar-Man in the *Canaries*: therefore if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgment as Invention, he may do great matters, especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gains Certain*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*; and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties* that may uphold losses. *Monopolies* and *Coemption* of Wares for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to *enrich*, especially if the Party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and to store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships*, (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*, *Testamenta & Orbos tanquam Indagine capi*) it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons, than in *Service*. Believe not much them that seem to despise *Riches*; for they despise them that despair of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes

they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches* either to their Kindred, or to the Publick; and moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of prey, round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in Years and Judgment. Likewise glorious Gifts and Foundations are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *Painted Sepulchres of Alms*, which soon will putrefie and corrupt inwardly: Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and defer not Charities till death: For certainly if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another mans, than of his own.

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## XXXV.

## *Of Prophecies.*

I MEAN not to speak of *Divine Prophecies*, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of Natural Predictions, but only of *Prophecies* that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*, *To morrow thou and thy Son shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses.

*At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris*
*Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.*

A *Prophesie*, as it seems, of the *Roman* Empire. *Seneca*, the *Tragedian*, hath these Verses.

*——— Venient Annis*
*Secula seris, quibus Oceanus*
*Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens*
*Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos*
*Detegat orbes; nec sit terris*
*Ultima Thule:*

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A *Propheſie* of the *Diſcovery* of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* anointed him; and it came to paſs that he was Crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain waſhed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed he ſealed up his Wife's Belly; whereby he did expound it that his Wife ſhould be barren: But *Ariſtander* the South-Sayer told him his Wife was with Child, becauſe Men do not uſe to ſeal Veſſels that are empty. A Phantaſm that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, ſaid to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis*. *Tiberius* ſaid to *Galba*, *Tu quoque, Galba, deguſtabis Imperium*. In *Veſpaſian*'s time there went a *Prophecy* in the Eaſt, that thoſe that ſhould come forth of *Judea* ſhould reign over the World: Which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Veſpaſian*. *Domitian* dreamed the night before he was ſlain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the ſucceſſion that followed him for many years made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixth of *England*, ſaid of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water, *this is the Lad that ſhall enjoy the Crown for which we ſtrive*. When I was in *France*, I heard from one Doctor *Pena*, that the *Queen Mother*, who was given to curious Arts, cauſed the King her Husband's Nativity to be Calculated under a falſe Name: And the Aſtrologer gave a Judgment, that he ſhould be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: But he was ſlain upon a Courſe at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Mongomery* going in at his Bever. The trivial *Prophecy* that I heard when I was a Child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

*When Hempe is ſpun,*
England's *done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*,) *England* ſhould come to utter Confuſion; which thanks be to God is verified in the Change of the Name; for that the King's Style is no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was alſo another *Prophecy*, before the Year of 88. which I do not well underſtand:

*There ſhall be ſeen upon a day,*
*Between the* Baugh *and the* May,
*The Black Feet of* Norway.
*When that is come and gone,*
England *build Houſes of Lime and Stone,*
*For after Wars ſhall you have none.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spaniſh* Fleet that came in 88. For that the King of *Spain*'s Sirname, as they ſay, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

*Octogeſimus octavus mirabilis Annus,*

Was thought likewiſe accompliſhed, in the ſending of that great Fleet, being the greateſt in ſtrength, though not in number, that ever ſwam upon the Sea. As for *Cleon*'s Dream, I think it was a Jeſt; It was, That he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sauſages that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, eſpecially if you include *Dreams* and *Predictions* of *Aſtrology*. But I have ſet down theſe few only of certain credit for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be deſpiſed, and

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ought to ſerve but for winter-talk by the fire-ſide: Though, when I ſay *Deſpiſed*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwiſe, the ſpreading or publiſhing of them is in no ſort to be *Deſpiſed*; for they have done much miſchief. And I ſee many ſevere Laws made to ſuppreſs them. That that hath given them grace, and ſome credit, conſiſteth in three things: Firſt, That Men mark when they hit, and never mark when thy miſs; as they do generally alſo of *Dreams*. The ſecond is, That probable Conjectures, or obſcure Traditions, many times turn themſelves into *Prophecies*, while the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: As that of *Seneca*'s Verſe. For ſomuch was then ſubject to Demonſtration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato*'s *Timæus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a *Prediction*. The third and Laſt (which is the Great one) is, That almoſt all of them, being infinite in number, have been Impoſtures, and by idle and crafty Brains meerly contrived and feigned after the Event paſt.

## XXXVI.

## *Of Ambition.*

*AMBITION* is like *Choler*, which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earneſt, full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not ſtopped, but if it be ſtopped and cannot have its way, it becometh aduſt, and thereby Malign and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Riſing, and ſtill get forward, they are rather Buſie than Dangerous; but if they be checkt in their deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontent,

and look upon Men and Matters with an Evil Eye, and are best pleased when things go backward, which is the worst property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*; for the use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreens to Princes in matters of Danger and Envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the greatness of any Subject that over-tops; as *Tiberius* used *Macro* in pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less *Dangerous*. There is less *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harsh of Nature, than Gracious and Popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have *Favourites*; but it is of all others the best remedy against *Ambitious Great Ones*. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the *Favourite*, it is impossible any other should be *Over-great*. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle Councellors to keep things steady; for without that Ballast the Ship will roul too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner Persons,

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to be as it were Scourges to *Ambitious Men.* As for the having of them obnoxious to ruine, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they be ſtout and daring, it may precipitate their Deſigns, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with ſafety ſuddenly, the only way is, the enterchange continually of Favours and diſgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is leſs harmful the *Ambition* to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confuſion, and mars buſineſs. But yet it is leſs Danger, to have an *Ambitious Man* ſtirring in buſineſs, than great in dependences. He that ſeeketh to be eminent amongſt able Men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the Publick; but he that plots to be the only Figure amongſt Cyphers, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good, the approach to Kings and Principal Perſons, and the raiſing of a Mans own Fortune. He that hath the beſt of theſe Intentions when he aſpireth, is an honeſt Man; and that Prince that can diſcern of thoſe Intentions in another that aſpireth, is a wiſe Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuſe ſuch Miniſters as are more ſenſible of Duty, than of Riſing; and ſuch as love Buſineſs rather upon Conſcience, than upon Bravery; and let them diſcern a buſie Nature from a willing Mind.

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## XXXVII.

## *Of Masks and Triumphs.*

THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongſt ſuch ſerious Obſervations. But yet, ſince Princes will have ſuch things, it is better they ſhould be graced

with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Choire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick, and the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extream good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue* would be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenor, no Treble,) and the *Ditty* High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. *Several Choires* placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthem*-wise, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure* is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations* of *Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without noise, are things of great Beauty and Pleasure, for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Colored* and *Varied*; and let the *Maskers*, or any other that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some motions upon the *Scene* it self, before their coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be *Loud* and *Chearful*, and not *Chirpings* or *Fulings*. Let the *Musick* likewise be *Sharp* and *Loud*, and *well placed*. The *Colours* that shew best by Candle-light, are White, Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and *Oes* or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the *Suits* of *Maskers* be graceful, and such as become the Person when the Vizars are off, not after examples of known Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masks* not be long, they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild-men, Antiques, Beasts, Spirits, Witches, Ethiops, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's moving, and the like.

like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comical enough to put them in *Anti-masks*; and any thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musick* of them be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *sweet Odours* suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in such a Company, as there is Steam and Heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. *Double Masks*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear and neat.

For *Justs*, and *Turneys*, and *Barriers*, the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots wherein the Challengers make their Entry, specially if they be drawn with strange Beasts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like; or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the bravery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these toys.

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## XXXVIII.

## *Of Nature in Men.*

NATURE is often Hidden, sometimes Overcome, seldom Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return; Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* less importune: But Custom only doth alter and subdue *Nature*. He that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set himself too great, nor too small Tasks, for the first will make him dejected, by often Failings; and the second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders or Rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as Dancers do with thick Shooes: For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practice be harder than the Use. Where *Nature* is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to

stay

ſtay and arreſt *Nature* in time, like to him that would ſay over the Four and Twenty Letters when he was Angry, than to go leſs in quantity: As if one ſhould in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a Draught at a Meal, and laſtly to diſcontinue altogether: But if a Man have the Fortitude and Reſolution to enfranchiſe himſelf at once, that is the beſt;

*Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus*
*Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque ſemel.*

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiſs to bend *Nature*, as a wand to a contrary Extream, whereby to ſet it right, underſtanding it where the contrary Extream is no Vice. Let not a Man force a Habit upon himſelf with a perpetual Continuance, but with ſome Intermiſſion; for both the Pauſe re-inforceth the new Onſet: And if a Man that is not perfect be ever in practiſe, he ſhall as well practiſe his Errors, as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both; and there is no means to help this, but by ſeaſonable Intermiſſion. But let not a Man truſt his Victory over his *Nature* too far; for *Nature* will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the Occaſion of Temptation. Like as it was with *Æſop*'s Damſel, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who ſate very demurely at the Boards end, till a Mouſe run before her. Therefore let a Man either avoid the Occaſion altogether, or put himſelf often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is beſt perceived in privateneſs, for there is no Affection in Paſſion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; and in a new Caſe of Experiment, for their Cuſtom leaveth him. They are happy Men whoſe *Natures* ſort with their Vocations, otherwiſe they may ſay, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*; when they converſe in thoſe they do not effect. In Studies whatſoever a man commandeth upon himſelf, let him ſet hours for it; but whatſoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no care for any ſet Times, for

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his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or Studies will suffice. A mans *Nature* runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

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## XXXIX.

### *Of Custom and Education.*

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination, their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been *accustomed*: And therefore as *Machiavel* well noted, (though in an ill-favoured Instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of Words, except it be corroborate by *Custom*. His instance is, that for the atchieving of a desperate Conspiracy, a Man should not rest upon the fierceness of any Mans Nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a *Frier Clement*, not a *Ravaillac*, nor a *Jauregy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerrard*; yet this Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagements of Words are not so forcible as *Customs*. Only Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first blood are as firm as Butchers by Occupation, and Votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custom*, even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of *Custom* is every where visible, in so much as a man would wonder to hear men Profess, Protest, Engage, give great Words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead Images, and Engines moved only by the wheels of *Custom*. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of *Custom*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves

ſelves by fire. Nay, the Wives ſtrive to be burned with the Corps of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta* of ancient time, were wont to be ſcourged upon the Altar of *Diana* without ſo much as Squeaking. I remember in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, of *England*, an *Iriſh Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputy*, that he might be hanged in a Wyth, and not in an Halter, becauſe it had been ſo uſed with former *Rebels*. There be *Monks* in *Ruſſia*, for Penance, that will ſit a whole night in a Veſſel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many examples may be put down of the force of *Cuſtom*, both upon mind and body. Therefore ſince *Cuſtom* is the Principal Magiſtrate of man's life, let Men by all means endeavour to obtain good *Cuſtoms*. Certainly *Cuſtom* is moſt perfect when it beginneth in young years: This we call *Education*, which is in effect but an *early Cuſtom*. So we ſee in Languages, the Tongue is more plain to all Expreſſions and Sounds, the Joynts are more ſupple to all Feats of Activity and motions in Youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late Learners cannot ſo well take the ply, except it be in ſome minds that have not ſuffered themſelves to fix, but have kept themſelves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of *Cuſtom*, Simple and Separate, be great, the Force of *Cuſtom* Copulate, and Conjoyned, and Collegiate, is far greater. For their Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory raiſeth: So as in ſuch Places the Force of *Cuſtom* is in his Exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of Virtues upon humane Nature, reſteth upon Societies well ordained and diſciplined: for Common-wealths and good Governments do nouriſh Virtue Grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the miſery is, that the moſt effectual Means are now applyed to the Ends leaſt to be deſired.

# XL.

## *Of Fortune.*

IT cannot be denyed, but outward accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion fitting Virtue. But chiefly the mould of a *Man's Fortune* is in his own hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*, saith the Poet. And the most frequent of External Causes is, that the Folly of one man is the *Fortune* of another. For no man prospers so suddenly, as by others errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt and Apparent Virtues bring forth Praise; but there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring forth *Fortune*. Certain Deliveries of a Man's self, which have no Name. The *Spanish* Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them, when there be not Stands nor Restiveness in a *Man's Nature*, but that the Wheels of his *Mind* keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune*. For so *Livy* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these words, *in illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) falleth upon that, that he had *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see *Fortune*: For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of *Fortune* is like the *Milky Way* in the Sky, which is a Meeting or Knot of a number of small Stars; not seen asunder, but giving Light together; So are there a number of little, and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs that make men *Fortunate*. The *Italian* note some of them, such as a Man would little think: When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* properties, than to have a *little* of the *Fool*, and not *too much* of the *Honest*. Therefore extream Lovers of their Country, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a man

placeth

placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way, and hasty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser and Remover; (the *French* hath it better. *Enterprenant* or *Remuant*) but the exercised *Fortune* maketh the able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured and Respected, if it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*: For those two *Felicity* breedeth; the first, within a Man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; for so they may the better assure them: And besides, it is Greatness in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam ejus.* So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdom and Policy, end *Unfortunate*. It is written, That *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the account he gave to the State of his Government, often interlaced his Speech, *And in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homer*'s *Verses*, that have a Slide and Easiness more than the Verses of other Poets, as *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon*'s *Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas*: And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man's self.

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## XLI.

## *Of Usury.*

MANY have made witty Invectives against *Usury*. They say, That it is pity the Devil should have God's part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his Plough goeth every *Sunday*. That the *Usurer* is the *Drone* that *Virgil* speaketh of: *Ignavum*

*Ignavum fucus pecus à præsepibus arcent.*

That the *Usurer* breaketh the first Law that was made for Mankind after the Fall; which was, *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not, *In sudore vultus alieni.* That *Usurers* should have *Orainge-tawny Bonnets*, because they do *Judaize.* That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money*, and the like. I say this only, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter duritiem cordis:* For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury must* be permitted. Some others have made Suspicious and Cunning Propositions of Banks, discovery of Men's Estates, and other Inventions, but few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us the *Incommodities* and *Commodities* of *Usury*, that the good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; and warily to Provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are, First, that it makes fewer Merchants: for were it not for this lazy Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon Merchandising, which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The second, That it makes poor Merchants; for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent: So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury.* The third is incident to the other two; and that is, The decay of Customs, of Kings, or States, which Ebb or Flow with Merchandizing. The fourth, That it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm or State into a few hands; for the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game most of the Money will be in the Box; and ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, That it beats down the price of Land; for the employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing

chasing and *Usury* way-lays both. The Sixth, That it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Mony would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The last, That it is the Canker and Ruine of many Men's Estates, which in process of time breeds a publick Poverty.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are: First, That howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain, that the greatest part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer* either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great stand of Trade. The second is, That were it not for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far under foot; and so whereas *Usury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for Mortaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take Pawns without *Use*, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel Monied Man in the Country, that would say, the Devil take this *Usury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds. The third and last is, That it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive, the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: Therefore to speak of the abolishing of *Usury* is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speak now of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Usury* how the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Balance of *Commodities* and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, two things are to be reconciled: The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usury* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there

there be left open a means to invite Monied Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of *Usury*, a *less* and a *greater*. For if you reduce *Usury* to one low rate, it will ease the *Common Borrower*, but the *Merchant* will be to seek for Money. And it is to be noted, That the Trade of Merchandize, being the most *Lucrative*, may bear *Usury* at a good rate; other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions the way would be chiefly thus: That there be *two Rates of Usury*, the one Free and General for all, the other under *Licence* only to *certain Persons*, and in *certain Places of Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred*, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Currant; and let the State shut it self out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will in good part raise the price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen years purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This by reason will encourage and edge Industrious and Profitable Improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greatre profit. Secondly, Let there be *certain Persons Licensed to lend to known Merchants*, upon *Usury*, at a *High-Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himself, somewhat more easie than that he used formerly to pay: for by that means all Borrowers shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every man be Master of his own Money. Not that I altogether mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered some small matter for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender; for if the abatement be

but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade of *Usury*, and go from Certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let these Licensed Lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour other mens moneys in the Country, so as the *Licence of Nine* will not suck away the current *Rate of Five*; for no man will Lend his Moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected, That this doth in a sort Authorize *Usury*, which before was in some places but permissive: The Answer is, that it is better to mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, than to suffer it to rage by *Connivence*.

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## XLII.

### *Of Youth and Age.*

A Man that is *Young* in *Years*, may be Old in Hours, if he have lost no time, but that happeneth rarely. Generally *Youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so wise as the second; for there is a *Youth* in Thoughts as well as in Ages: And yet the Invention of *Young Men* is more lively than that of Old, and Imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have passed the Meridian of their years; as it was with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imo Furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ablest Emperor almost of all the List. But reposed Natures may do well in *Youth*, as it is seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, Heat and Vivacity in *Age*, is an excellent Composition

position for business. *Young Men* are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for Execution than for Counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business, for the Experience of *Age* in things that fall within the compass of it directeth them, but in new things abuseth them. The Errors of *Young Men* are the ruine of Business; but the Errors of *Aged Men* amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner. *Young Men* in the conduct and manage of Actions embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees, pursue some few Principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniencies: Use extream Remedies at first, and that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop nor Turn. *Men* of *Age* object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of Success. Certainly it is good to compound *Employments* of both; for that will be good for the *present*, because the vertues of either *Age* may correct the defects of both, and good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actors. And lastly, good for *Extern Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the moral part, perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the politick. A certain *Rabbin* upon the Text, *Your young Men shall see visions, and your old Men shall dream dreams*, inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *Old*, because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation than a *Dream*. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the powers of Understanding, than in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an over-early Ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are first such as have brittle Wits, the edge whereof is

ſoon turned; ſuch as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whoſe Books are exceeding ſubtil, who afterwards waxed ſtupid. A ſecond ſort is of thoſe that have ſome natural Diſpoſitions which have better grace in *Youth* than in *Age*; ſuch as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech, which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* ſaith of *Hortenſius*, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The third is, of ſuch as take too high a ſtrain at the firſt, and are magnanimous more than Tract of years can uphold: As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* ſaith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant.*

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## XLIII.

## *Of Beauty.*

VERTUE is like a rich Stone, beſt plain ſet; and ſurely, Vertue is beſt in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features, and that hath rather Dignity of Preſence, than *Beauty* of Aſpect. Neither is it almoſt ſeen that very *Beautiful Perſons* are otherwiſe of great Vertue, as if Nature were rather buſie not to err, than in labour to produce Excellency; and therefore they prove accompliſhed, but not out of great Spirit, and ſtudy rather Behaviour than Vertue. But this holds not always, for *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Titus Veſpaſianus*, *Philip de Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the fourth of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Iſmael* the *Sophy* of *Perſia*, were all high and great Spirits, and yet the moſt *Beautiful Men* of their times. In *Beauty*, that of *Favour* is more than that of *Colour*; and that of *decent* and *gracious Motion*, more than that of *Favour*. That is the beſt part of *Beauty* which a Picture cannot expreſs, no nor the firſt ſight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty* that hath not ſome ſtrangeneſs in the proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durer* were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a Perſonage by Geometrical

Geometrical Proportions, the other by taking the beſt Parts out of divers Faces to make one excellent. Such perſonages I think would pleaſe no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was, but he muſt do it by a kind of *Felicity*, (as a Muſician that maketh an excellent Air in Muſick) and not by Rule. A Man ſhall ſee Faces, that if you examine them part by part, you ſhall find never a good, and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of *Beauty* is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel; though *Perſons* in *Years* ſeem many times more amiable, *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*; for no *Youth* can be comely, but by pardon, and conſidering the *Youth*, as to make up the comelineſs. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are eaſie to corrupt, and cannot laſt, and for the moſt part it makes a diſſolute *Youth*, and an *Age*, a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Vertues ſhine, and Vices bluſh.

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## XLIV.

## *Of Deformity.*

*DEFORMED Perſons* are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, ſo do they by Nature, being for the moſt part (as the Scripture ſaith) *void of Natural Affection*, and ſo they have Revenge of Nature. Certainly, there is a conſent between the body and the mind, and where Nature erreth in the one, ſhe ventureth in the other; *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But becauſe there is in Man an Election touching the Frame of his mind, and a Neceſſity in the Frame of his body, the Stars of natural Inclination are ſometimes obſcured by the Sun of Diſcipline and Vertue: Therefore it is good to conſider of

*Deformity*, not as a Sign which is more deceivable, but as a Cause which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his Person that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn. Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extream bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn, but in process of time, by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of Advancement, till they see them in Possession; so that upon the matter in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an advantage to Rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some Countries) were wont to put great Trust in *Eunuchs*; because they that are envious to all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good whisperers, than good Magistrates and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the ground is, they will if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn, which must be either by Vertue or Malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent Persons; as was *Agesilaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*, and *Socrates* may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV.

# XLV.

## *Of Building.*

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houses*, for Beauty only, to the *Enchanted Palaces* of the *Poets*, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair *House* upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* only where the Air is unwholsom, but likewise where the Air is unequal; as you shall see many fine *Seats* set upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it, whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in several Places. Neither is it *ill Air* only that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill ways, ill Markets; and if you will consult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I speak not of any more. Want of Water, want of Wood, Shade and Shelter, want of Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of several Natures, want of Prospect, want of level Grounds, want of Places at some near Distance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; Too near the Sea or too remote, having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Discommodity of their Overflowing: Too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Business, or too near them which lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every thing dear: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted. All which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can; And if he have several Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. *Lu-*

*cullus* answered *Pompey* well, who when he saw his Stately Galleries and Rooms so large and lightsome in one of his *Houses*, said, *Surely an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? Lucullus* answered, *Why do you not think me as wise as some Fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the Winter?*

To pass from the *Seat* to the *House* it self, we will do as *Cicero* doth in the Orator's Art, who writes Books *De Oratore*, and a Book he Entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*, and the latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore describe a *Princely Palace*, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see now in *Europe* such huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escurial*, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect *Palace*, except you have two several Sides; a Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Book of *Hester*, and a Side for the *Household*; the one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the *Front*, and to be uniform without, though severally Partitioned within, and to be on both sides of a great and *Stately Tower* in the midst of the *Front*, that as it were joyneth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the *Banquet* in Front one only *goodly Room* above Stairs, of some forty foot high, and under it a Room for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place* at times of Triumphs. On the other side, which is the *Household* side, I wish it divided at the first into a *Hall* and a *Chappel*, (with a Partition between) both of good state and bigness, and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a *Winter* and a *Summer Parlor*, both fair; and under these Rooms, a fair and large *Cellar* sunk under Ground; and likewise some *Privy Kitchins*, with *Buteries* and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two Wings, and goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed

railed with *Statua's* interposed, and the same *Tower* to be divided into Rooms as shall be thought fit; the Stairs likewise to the upper Rooms, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*, and finely railed in with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a Brass colour, and a very fair Landing *Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower Rooms for a Dining Place of Servants, for otherwise you shall have the Servants Dinner after your own; for the steam of it will come up as in a Tunnel. And so much for the *Front*, only I understand the Heighth of the first Stairs to be sixteen Foot which is the Heighth of the lower Room.

Beyond this *Front* is there to be a fair *Court*, but three sides of it of a far lower *Building* than the *Front*. And in all the four Corners of that Court fair Stair-Cases, cast into *Turrets* on the out side, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers* are not to be of the height of the *Front*, but rather proportionable to the lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be Paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in winter; but only some Side-Alleys, with a Cross, and the *Quarters* to Graze being kept Shorn, but not too near Shorn. The *Row* of *Return* on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*, in which *Galleries* let there be three or five fine *Cupola's* in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine *Coloured Windows* of several Works. On the Houshold side, *Chambers* of *Presence* and ordinary Entertainment, with some *Bed-Chambers*, and let all three Sides be a double House, without thorow Lights on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Fore-noon and After-noon. Cast it also, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter, Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You shall have sometimes fair *Houses* so full of Glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sun, or Cold; for *Inbowed Windows* I hold them of good use; (in Cities indeed *Upright* do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Street) for they be pretty Retiring Places for

for Conference; and beſides, they keep both the Wind and the Sun off: For that which would ſtrike almoſt through the Room, doth ſcarce paſs the *Window*. But let them be but few, four in the *Court* on the Sides only.

Beyond this *Court* let there be an *Inward Court* of the ſame Square and Heighth, which is to be environed with the *Garden* on all ſides; and in the inſide Cloiſtered upon all ſides; upon decent and beautiful Arches, as high as the firſt Story. On the *Under Story* towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or place of Shade or Eſtivation; and only have opening and *Windows* towards the *Garden*, and be level upon Floor, no whit ſunk under Ground, to avoid all dampiſhneſs: And let there be a *Fountain*, or ſome fair *Work of Statua's* in the midſt of this *Court*, and to be Paved as the other *Court* was. Theſe *Buildings* to be for *Privy Lodgings* on both Sides, and the end for *Privy Galleries*: whereof you muſt fore-ſee that one of them be for an *Infirmary*, If the Prince or any ſpecial perſon ſhould be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed-Chambers*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it: This upon the ſecond Story. Upon the *Ground Story* a fair *Gallery*, *open* upon *Pillars*; and upon the *third Story* likewiſe, an *open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Proſpect and Freſhneſs of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the furtheſt Side, by way of Return, let there be two delicate or rich *Cabinets*, daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glazed with *Cryſtalline Glaſs*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the midſt, and all other Elegancy that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too I wiſh that there may be, if the Place will yield it, ſome *Fountains* running in divers Places from the Wall, with ſome fine Avoidances. And thus much for the model of the Palace; ſave that you muſt have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts: and a *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it; a *Second Court* of the ſame, but more Garniſhed with little Turrets, or rather Embelliſhments upon the Wall; and a *third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be Built, nor yet Encloſed with

with a Naked Wall, but Encloſed with *Terraſſes* leaded aloft, and fairly Garniſhed on the three ſides; and Cloyſtered on the in-ſide with Pillars, and not with Arches below. As for *Offices*, let them ſtand at diſtance with ſome *Low-Galleries*, to paſs from them to the *Palace* it ſelf.

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## XLVI.

## *Of Gardens.*

GOD *Almighty* firſt Planted a *Garden*; and indeed it is the pureſt of Humane pleaſures. It is the greateſt refreſhment to the *Spirits* of Man; without which, *Buildings* and *Palaces* are but groſs Handy-works. And a Man ſhall ever ſee, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to *Build Stately*, ſooner than to *Garden Finely:* as if *Gardening* were the greater Perfection. I do hold it in the Royal Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens* for all the Months in the Year, in which, ſeverally, things of Beauty may be then in ſeaſon. For *December* and *January* and the latter part of *November*, you muſt take ſuch things as are green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypreſs Trees, Yews, Pine-Apple Trees, Fir Trees, Roſemary, Lavender, Periwinckle the White, the Purple, and the Blue, Germander Flags, Orange-Trees, Limon-Trees, and Myrtle, if they be ſtoved, and ſweet Marjoram warm ſets. There followeth for the latter part of *January* and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then bloſſoms, Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Grey Prim-Roſes, Anemones, the Early Tulippa, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Frettellaria. For *March* there comes Violets, ſpecially the Single Blue, which are Earlieſt, the Yellow Daffadil, the Daizy, the Almond-Tree in Bloſſom, the Peach-Tree in Bloſſom, the Cornelian-Tree in Bloſſom, ſweet Briar. In *April* follow the double White Violet, the Wall-Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower,

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the Cowslip, Flower-de Lices, and Lilies of all Natures, Rosemary-Flower, the Tulippa, the Double Piony the Pale Daffadill, the French Honey-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Blossom, the Damascen and Plumb-Trees in Blossom, the White Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree. In *May* and *June* come Pinks of all Sorts, specially the Blush-Pink, roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later, Hony Suckles, Strawberries, Bugloss, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Rasps, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet Satyrion with the White Flower, Herba Muscaria, Lilium Convallium, the Apple-Tree in Bossom. In *July* come Gilly-flowers of all Varieties, Musk-Roses, and the Lime-Tree in Blossom. Early Pears and Plumbs in Fruit, Gennitings, Quodlings. In *August* come Plumbs of all sorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberries, Filbeards, Musk-Melons, Monkshoods of all Colours. In *September* come, Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October* and the beginning of *November*, come Servises, Medlars, Bullaces; Roses Cut or Removed to come late, Holly-oaks, and such like. These particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*: But my meaning is perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the *Breath* of Flowers is far Sweeter in the Air, (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Musick) than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that Delight, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants* that do best perfume the Air. Roses Damask and Red are Flowers tenacious of their Smells, so that you may walk by a whole Row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetness; yea, though it be in a Morning Dew. Bays likewise yield no Smell as they grow, Rosemary little, nor Sweet-Marjoram. That which above all others yields the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Air*, is the Violet, specially the White double Violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of *April*, and about

about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is the Musk Roſe, then the Strawberry Leaves dying with a moſt excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; it is a little Duſt, like the Duſt of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluſter in the firſt coming forth. Then Sweet-Briar, then Wall-Flowers, which are very delightful to be ſet under a Parlour, or lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks and Gilly-Flowers, eſpecially the matted Pink, and Clove Gilly-Flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree. Then the Honey-Suckles, ſo they be ſomewhat afar off. Of Bean-Flowers I ſpeak not, becauſe they are Field-Flowers. But thoſe which *perfume* the *Air* moſt delightfully, not *paſſed* by as the reſt, but being *Trodden upon* and *Cruſhed*, are three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore you are to ſet whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleaſure when you walk or tread.

For *Gardens*, (ſpeaking of thoſe which are indeed *Princelike*, as we have done of *Buildings*) The Contents ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground*, and to be divided into three parts; a *Green* in the entrance, a *Heath* or *Deſart* in the going forth, and the *Main Garden* in the midſt, beſides *Alleys* on both ſides. And I like well, that four Acres of Ground be Aſſigned to the *Green*, ſix to the Heath, four and four to either *Side*, and twelve to the *Main Garden*. The *Green* hath two pleaſures; the one becauſe nothing is more pleaſant to the Eye than Green Graſs kept finely ſhorn; the other, becauſe it will give you a fair Alley in the midſt, by which you may go in front upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to encloſe the *Garden*. But becauſe the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the ſhade in the *Garden*, by going in the Sun through the *Green*; therefore you are of either *Side* the *Green* to plant a *Covert Alley* upon Carpenters Work, about twelve foot in Heighth, by which you may go in ſhade into the *Garden*. As for the making of *Knots* of *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie under the Windows

dows of the House, on that Side which the *Garden* stands, they be but toys, you may see as good sights many times in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be square, encompassed on all the four Sides with a *Stately Arched Hedge*: the *Arches* to be upon *Pillars* of Carpenters Work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the *spaces* between of the same Dimension with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*, Over the *Arches* let there be an entire *Hedge*, of some four foot high, framed also upon Carpenters Work, and upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch* a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*; and over every *Space* between the *Arches* some other little *Figure*, with broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glass* gilt, for the *Sun* to play upon. But this *Hedge*, I intend to be raised upon a *Bank*, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole breath of the Ground, but to leave on either side Ground enough for diversity of *Side Alleys* unto which the two *Covert Alleys* of the *Green* may deliver you, but there must be no *Alleys* with *Hedges* at either end of this great *Inclosure*: not at the *Higher End*, for letting your prospect upon this fair Hedge from the *Green*; not at the *further End*, for letting your prospect from the *Hedge* through the *Arches* upon the *Heath*. For the ordering of the Ground within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device. Advising nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into; first it be not too busie, or full of Work; wherein I, for my part, do not like *Images cut out in Juniper*, or other *Garden-stuff*, they are for Children. *Little low Hedges* Round like Welts, with some pretty *Pyramids*, I like well: and in some places *Fair Columns* upon Frames of Carpenters Work. I would also have the *Alleys* spacious and fair. You may have *closer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Main Garden*. I wish also in the very middle a *fair Mount*, with three Ascents and Alleys, enough for four to walk a breast, which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Imboss-

ments,

ments, and the *whole Mount* to be thirty foot high, and some fine *Banquetting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glass*.

For *Fountains*, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment, but *Pools* marr all, and make the *Garden* unwholsome, and full of Flies and Froggs. *Fountains* I intend to be of two Natures, the one that *sprinkleth* or *spouteth Water*, the other a *fair Receipt* of *Water*, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, do well; but the main matter is, so to convey the Water, as it never stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern, that the Water be never by rest *Discoloured*, *Green* or *Red*, or the like; or gather any *Mossiness* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand; also some steps up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Pool*, it may admit much Curiosity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble our selves, as that the bottom be finely paved, and with Images, the sides likewise; and withal Embellished with coloured Glass, and such things of Lustre; Encompassed also with fine Rails of low Statues. But the main point is the same, which we mentioned in the former kind of *Fountain*, which is, that the *Water* be in *perpetual motion*, fed by a Water higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair *Spouts*, and then discharged away under Ground by some equality of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices of Arching Water without spilling and making it rise in several forms (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

For the *Heath*, was the third part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Natural Wildness*. *Trees* I would have none in it, but some *Thickets*, made only of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honey-Suckle*, and some

*Wild*

*Wild-Vine* amongst, and the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries* and *Primroses:* for these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-Hills* (such as are in *Wild-Heaths*) to be set, some with Wild-Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with Periwinkle, some with Violets, some with Strawberries, some with Cowslips, some with Daizies, some with Red-Roses, some with Lilium Convallium, some with Sweet-Williams Red, some with Bears-Foot, and the like Low Flowers, being withall Sweet and Sightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their top, and part without; the *Standards* to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries, (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom) Red Currans, Gooseberries, Rosemary, Bays, Sweet-Briar, and such like. But these *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fit them with variety of *Alleys*, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them, likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the Wind, and these *closer Alleys* must be ever finely Gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit Trees* of all sorts; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders* wherein you plant your *Fruit Trees*, be fair and large, and low, and not steep, and set with *fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the *Trees*. At the end of both the *side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the Fields.

For

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there ſhould be ſome fair *Alleys* ranged on both ſides with *Fruit-Trees*, and ſome pretty Tufts of Fruit-Trees and *Arbors* with *Seats*, ſet in ſome decent Order; but theſe to be by no means ſet too thick; but to leave the *Main Garden* ſo, as it be not cloſe, but the Air open and free; for as for *Shade* I would have you reſt upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be diſpoſed, in the Heat of the Year or Day: but to make account, that the *Main Garden* is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Over-caſt Days.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that largeneſs, as they may be *turfed*, and have *Living Plants* and *Buſhes* ſet in them, that the *Birds* may have more ſcope, and natural Neſting, and that no *foulneſs* appear in the *floor* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Plat-form of a *Princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but ſome general Lines of it, and in this I have ſpared for no coſt. But it is nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the moſt part taking advice with Work-men, with no leſs Coſt, ſet their things together, and ſometimes add *Statua's* and ſuch things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true pleaſure of a *Garden*.

## XLVII.

## *Of Negotiating.*

IT is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the mediation of a Third, than by a man's ſelf. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Anſwer by Letter back again; or when it may ſerve for a Man's Juſtification afterwards to produce his own Letter, or where it may be danger to be in-

terrupted or heard by pieces. To *deal* in *Person* is good, when a Man's face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Cases, where a Man's Eye upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: And generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to *Disavow*, or to *Expound*. In choice of *Instruments*, it is better to chuse men of a plainer sort that are like to do that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other Mens Business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in Report for satisfaction sake. Use all such Persons as affect the business wherein they are imployed, for that quickneth much; and such as are fit for the matter: As bold Men for Expostulation, fair spoken Men for Perswasion, crafty Men for Enquiry and Observation, froward and absurd Men for business that doth not well bear out it self. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have imployed them, for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their Prescription. It is better to sound a Person with whom one *Deals* afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deal* with another upon Conditions, the start of the first Performance is all, which a Man cannot reasonably Demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a Man can perswade the other Party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester Man. All Practice is to *Discover*, or to *Work*: Men *Discover* themselves in Trust, in Passion at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would *Work* any Man, you must either know his nature and fashions,

fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Persons we must ever consider their ends to interpret their Speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all *Negotiations* of difficulty a Man may not look to sow and reap at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

## XLVIII.

### *Of Followers and Friends.*

COSTLY *Followers* are not to be liked, lest while a Man maketh his Train longer, he makes his Wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are wearisome and importunate in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon Discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great Personages. Likewise glorious *Followers* who make themselves as Trumpets of Commendation of those that follow, are full of Inconvenience; for they taint business through want of Secrecy, and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewise which are dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to other; yet such Men, many times, are in great favour; for

they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales, the *Following* by certain *Estates* of Men, answerable to that which a great Person himself professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing Civil, and well taken even in Monarchies; so it be without too much pomp of popularity. But the most honourable kind of *Following*, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance Vertue and Desert in all sorts of Persons. And yet where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times Active Men are of more use than Vertuous. It is true, that in Government it is good to use Men of one Rank equally; for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour to use Men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the Persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any Man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews Softness, and gives a freedom to Scandal and Disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a Man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour, yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes Men to be of the last Impression, and full of Change. To take advice of some few *Friends* is ever honourable; for *Lookers on*, *many times*, *see more than Gamesters*, *and the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is little Friendship in the World, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between Superior and inferior, whose Fortunes may comprehend one the other.

*Of*

# XLIX.

## *Of Suitors.*

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private *Suits* do putrefie the publick Good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds, I mean, not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits* which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a second Reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the *Suitor's* hopes. Some take hold of *Suits* only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext, without care what become of the *Suit* when that turn is serv'd; or generally, to make other Mens business a kind of Entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake *Suits* with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end, to gratifie the adverse Party or Competitor. Surely there is in some sort a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controversie; or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affections lead a Man to favour the wrong side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to compound the matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the less worthy in Desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better Deserver. In *Suits* which a Man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some Friend of Trust and Judgment, that may report, whether he may deal in them with Honour; but let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitors* are so distasted with Delays and Abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in

*Suits* at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth Consideration may be had of his Trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the Note, but the Party left to his other means, and in some sort recompenced for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof is want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of *Suitors*; but doth quicken and awaken others; but Timing of the *Suit* is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a Man in the choice of his mean, rather chuse the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things, than those that are General. The Reparation of a Denial, is some times equal to the first Grant; if a Man shew himself, neither dejected, nor discontented: *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*; is a good rule, where a Man hath strength of Favour: But otherwise a Man were better rise in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Suitor*, will not in the Conclusion lose both the *Suitor*, and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great Person as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments than these general Contrivers of *Suits*, for they are but a kind of poyson and infection to publick proceedings.

# L.

## *Of Studies.*

STUDIES ſerve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief uſe for Delight is in Privateneſs and Retiring; for Ornament is in Diſcourſe; and for Ability, is in the Judgment and Diſpoſition of Buſineſs. For expert Men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars one by one; but the general Counſels and the Plots, and Marſhalling of Affairs, come beſt from thoſe that are *Learned.* To ſpend too much time in *Studies* is ſloth; to uſe them too much for Ornament is affectation; to make Judgment wholly by their Rules is the humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience: for Natural Abilities are like Natural Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*, and *Studies* themſelves do give forth Directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men contemn *Studies*, Simple Men admire them, and Wiſe Men uſe them: For they teach not their own uſe, but that is a Wiſdom without them, and above them, won by Obſervation. Read not to Contradict and Confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find Talk and Diſcourſe, but to weigh and conſider. Some *Books* are to be taſted, others to be ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed and digeſted; that is, ſome *Books* are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiouſly; and ſome few to be read, wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some *Books* alſo may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: But that would be only in the leſs important Arguments, and the meaner ſort of *Books*, elſe diſtilled *Books* are like common diſtilled Waters, flaſhy things. Reading maketh a full Man; Conference a

ready Man; and Writing an exact Man. And therefore if a Man Write little, he had need have a great memory; if he Confer little, he had need have a present Wit; and if he Read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise, *Poets* Witty, the *Mathematicks* Subtil, *Natural Philosophy* Deep, *Moral* Grave, *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to Contend. *Abiunt Studia in Mores*; Nay, there is no Stand or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies*: Like as Diseases of the Body may have appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins, Shooting for the Lungs and Breast, Gentle Walking for the Stomach, Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a Man's Wit be wandering, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks*; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *School-Men*; for they are *Cumini sectores.* If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases*; so every Defect of the mind may have a special Receipt.

## LI.

## *Of Faction.*

MANY have an Opinion not Wise; that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the respect of *Factions*, is a principal part of Policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are General, and wherein Men of several *Factions* do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one.

But

But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions* is to be neglected. Mean Men in their rising must adhere, but great Men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and Neutral: Yet even in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker *Faction* is the firmer in Conjunction: and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the *Factions* is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth: As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; but when the Senates Authority was pulled down, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and subdivided. These examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in private *Factions*: And therefore those that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* subdivideth, prove Principals; but many times also they prove Cyphers and cashier'd. For many a Man's strength is in opposition, and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that Men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that by which they enter, thinking belike that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new Purchase. The Traitor in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in Ballancing, the winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two *Factions*, proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a Man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their mouth

mouth *padre commune*, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware, how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Party; for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the *League* of *France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The motions of *Factions* under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the *Astronomers* speak) of the Inferior Orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *Primum Mobile*.

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## LII.

### *Of Ceremonies and Respects.*

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of Virtue, as the Stone had need to be rich, that is set without foil. But if a Man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of Men, as it is in gettings and gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use, and in note; whereas the occasion of any great Virtue cometh but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Isabella* saith) *Like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, to have good *forms*. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a Man observe them in others: And let him trust himself

himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace, which is to be Natural and Unaffected. Some Mens behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a Man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminish *respect* to himself; especially, they are not to be omitted to strangers, and formal Natures: But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting Passions amongst Complements, which is of singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Man's Peers, a Man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep State. Amongst a Man's Inferiors, one shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of Society, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones self to others is good, so it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon regard, and not facility. It is a good Precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of ones own; as if you would grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counsel, let it be with alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too perfect in Complements: For be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is loss also in business, to be too full of *respects*, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* saith, *He that considereth the Wind shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds shall not Reap.* A wise Man will make more opportunities than he finds. Mens Behaviour should be like

like their Apparel, not too Strait, or point device, but free for Exercise or Motion.

## LIII.

## *Of Praise.*

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue, but it is as the Glass or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the common People, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain Persons than vertuous. For the common People understand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw *praise* from them, the middle vertues work in them Astonishment or Admiration, but of the highest Virtues they have no sence or perceiving at all, but shews and *Species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid: But if Persons of Quality and Judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis.* It filleth all round about, and will not easily away: For the Odours of Oyntments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false Points of *Praise* that a Man may justly hold it a suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerly of Flattery, and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may serve every Man: If he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch Flatterer, which is a Man's self: And wherein a Man thinketh best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to per force, *Spreta Conscientia.* Some *Praises* come

come of good wiſhes and reſpects, which is a form due in Civility to Kings and great Perſons, *Laudando præcipere*, when by telling Men what they are, they repreſent to them what they ſhould be. Some Men are praiſed maliciouſly to their hurt, thereby to ſtir envy and jealouſie towards them, *Peſſimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, inſomuch as it was a Proverb amongſt the *Grecians*; that *he that was praiſed to his hurt ſhould have a puſh riſe upon his Noſe*; as we ſay, *That a bliſter will riſe upon ones Tongue that tells a Lye.* Certainly moderate *praiſe*, uſed with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. *Solomon* ſaith, *He that praiſeth his friend aloud, riſing early, it ſhall be to him no better than a Curſe.* Too much magnifying of a Man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and ſcorn. To *praiſe* a Man's ſelf cannot be decent, except it be in rare caſes; but to *praiſe* a Man's Office or profeſſion, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are Theologues, and Fryars, and Schoolmen, have a Phraſe of notable contempt and ſcorn towards civil buſineſs: For they call all Temporal buſineſs, of Wars, Embaſſages, Judicature and other employments, *Shirreri*, which is under *Sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffs and Catchpoles: though many times thoſe *Under-Sheriffries* do more good than their high ſpeculations. Saint *Paul*, when he boaſts of himſelf, he doth oft interlace; *I ſpeak like a Fool*; but ſpeaking of his Calling, he ſaith, *Magnifico Apoſtolatum meum.*

## LIV.

### *Of Vain Glory.*

IT was prettily deviſed of *Æſop*, *The Fly ſate upon the Axletree of the Chariot-Wheel, and ſaid, What a Duſt do I raiſe?* So are there ſome *vain Perſons*, that whatſoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never ſo little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are *glorious*, muſt needs be *factious*; for all bravery ſtands upon compariſons. They muſt needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be ſecret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the *French* Proverb, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit*; *Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is uſe of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatneſs, theſe Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth in the caſe of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, *There are ſometimes great effects of croſs Lyes:* As if a Man that Negotiates between two Princes, to draw them to joyn in a War againſt the third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above meaſure, the one to the other: And ſometimes he that deals between Man and Man, raiſeth his own credit with both, by pretending greater Intereſt than he hath in either. And in theſe and the like kinds, it often falls out, that *ſomewhat* is produced of *nothing*: For Lyes are ſufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Subſtance. In Military Commanders and Soldiers, *Vain Glory* is an eſſential Point: For as Iron ſharpens Iron, ſo by *Glory* one Courage ſharpneth another. In caſes of great Enterpriſe, upon Charge and Adventure, a Compoſition of *Glorious* Natures doth put Life into Buſineſs; and thoſe that are of ſolid and ſober Natures have more

of

of the Ballaſt than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will flow, without ſome Feathers of *Oſtentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros ſcribunt, Nomen ſuum inſcribunt. Socrates, Ariſtotle, Galen*, were Men full of *Oſtentation.* Certainly *Vain Glory* helpeth to perpetuate a Man's Memory; and Virtue was never ſo beholden to humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, born her Age ſo well, if it had not been joyned with ſome *Vanity* in themſelves; like unto *Varniſh*, that maketh Cielings not only ſhine, but laſt. But all this while, when I ſpeak of *Vain Glory*, I mean not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus, Omnium quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Oſtentator:* For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Natural Magnanimity and Diſcretion: And in ſome Perſons, is not only Comely, but Gracious. For Excuſations, Ceſſions, Modeſty it ſelf well governed, are but Arts of *Oſtentation.* And amongſt thoſe Arts there is none better than that which *Plinius Secundus* ſpeaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praiſe and Commendation to others, in that wherein a Man's ſelf hath any Perfection. For, ſaith *Pliny* very wittily, *In commending another, you do your ſelf right: For he that you commend, is either Superior to you, in that you commend, or Inferior. If he be Inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: If he be Superior, if he be not to be commended, you much leſs Glorious.* Men are the ſcorn of wiſe Men, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Paraſites, and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

## LV.

### *Of Honour and Reputation.*

THE Winning of *Honour* is but the revealing of Man's Virtue and Worth without Disadvantage For some in their Actions do wooe and affect *Honour* and *Reputation*; which sort of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the shew of it, so as they be undervalued in Opinion. If a Man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more *Honour*, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A Man is an ill Husband of his *Honour* that entreth into any Action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can *Honour* him. *Honour* that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickest reflection, like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore let a Man contend to excel any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in out-shooting them, if he can in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to *Reputation: Omnis fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour* is best extinguished by declaring a Man's self in his ends, rather to seek Merit than Fame; and by attributing a Man's successes, rather to Divine Providence and Felicity than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of *Soveraign Honour*, are these. In the first place are, *Conditores Imperiorum, Founders of States*, and *Commonwealths*; such as were *Romulus*,

*Romulus*, *Cyrus*, *Cæsar*, *Ottoman*, *Ismael*. In the second place are, *Legislatores*, *Law-givers*; which are also called *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they govern by their Ordinances after they are gone; such were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Justinian*, *Edgar*, *Alphonsus* of *Castile* the wise, that made the *Siete Patridas*. In the third place are, *Liberatores* or *Salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of Civil Wars, or deliver their Countreys from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as *Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. In the fourth place are *Propagatores*, or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in Honourable Wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Invaders. And in the last place are *Patres Patriæ*, which Reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no Examples, they are in such number. Degrees of *Honour* in Subjects are: First, *Participes Curarum*, those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs, their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders*, such as are Princes Lieutenants, and do them notable services in the Wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, *Favourites*, such as need not this scantling, to be Solace to the Soveraign, and harmless to the People. And the fourth *Negotiis Pares*, such as have great places under Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which hapneth rarely, that is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves to Death* or *Danger* for the *Good* of their *Countrey*; as was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Decii*.

# LVI.

## *Of Judicature.*

*JUDGES* ought to remember, that their Office is, *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare: To interpret Law*, and not to *make Law*, or *give Law:* Else will it be like the Authority claimed by the *Church* of *Rome*, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by *shew* of *Antiquity* to introduce *Novelty*. *Judges* ought to be more learned than Witty, more Reverend than Plausible, and more advised than Confident. Above all things Integrity is their Portion and proper Virtue: *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is he that removeth the Land Mark.* The misslayer of a *meer-Stone* is to blame; but it is the unjust *Judge* that is the Capital Remover of Land-Marks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more hurt than many foul Examples; for these do but corrupt the Stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith *Solomon*, *Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens in causa sua coram Adversario.* The Office of *Judges* may have reference unto the *Parties that sue*, unto the *Advocates that plead*, unto the *Clerks* and *Ministers* of *Justice* underneath them, and to the *Soveraign* or *State* above them.

First, For the *Causes* or *Parties that sue. There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn Judgment into Wormwood*; and surely there be also that turn it into *Vinegar*; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and Delays make it sour. The principal Duty of a *Judge* is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out as the Surfeit of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his way

to

to a Juſt Sentence, as God uſeth to prepare his way by *raiſing Valleys*, and *taking down Hills:* So when there appeareth on either ſide an high Hand, violent Proſecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counſel, then is the Virtue of a Judge ſeen, to make Inequality Equal, that he may plant his *Judgment* as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit ſanguinem*; and where the Wine-Preſs is hard wrought, it yields a harſh Wine that taſtes of the Grape-Stone. *Judges* muſt beware of hard Conſtructions, and ſtrained Inferences; for there is no worſe Torture than the Torture of Laws, eſpecially, in caſe of Laws penal; they ought to have care, that that which was meant for Terror, be not turned into Rigor, and that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture ſpeaketh, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos:* for penal Laws preſſed are a *Shower* of *Snares* upon the People. Therefore let *Penal Laws*, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the preſent Time, be by wiſe *Judges* confined in the Execution, *Judicis Officium eſt, ut Res ita Tempora Rerum*, &c. In *Cauſes of Life* and *Death*, *Judges* ought (as far as the Law permitteth) in Juſtice to remember Mercy; and to caſt a ſevere Eye upon the Example, but a merciful Eye upon the Perſon.

Secondly, For the *Advocates* and *Council* that plead; Patience and Gravity of hearing is an eſſential part of Juſtice, and an over-ſpeaking *Judge* is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, firſt to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Bar, or to ſhew quickneſs of conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counſel too ſhort, or to prevent Informations by Queſtions though pertinent. The parts of a *Judge* in hearing are four; To direct the Evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of Speech. To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate the material Points of that which hath been ſaid; And to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatſoever is above theſe, is too

much; and proceedeth either of Glory and willingness to speak, or of Impatience to hear, or of shortness of Memory, or of want of a stayed and equal Attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldness of *Advocates* should prevail with *Judges*; whereas they should imitate God in whose seat they sit, who *represseth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest.* But it is more strange, that *Judges* should have noted Favourites; which cannot but cause multiplication of Fees, and suspicion of By-ways. There is due from the *Judge* to the *Advocate* some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well handled, and fair pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the *Client* the Reputation of his *Counsel*, and beats down in him the conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publick* a civil Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth cunning Counsel, gross Neglect, slight Information, indiscreet Pressing, or an overbold Defence. And let not the *Counsel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wind himself into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other side, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* half way, nor give occasion to the Party to say, *His Counsel or Proofs were not heard.*

Thirdly, For that that concerns *Clerks* and *Ministers.* The Place of *Justice* is an hallowed Place; and therefore not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*; neither can *Justice* yield her Fruit with Sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling *Clerks* and *Ministers.* The Attendance of Courts is subject to four bad Instruments: First, Certain Persons that are sowers of Suits which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The second sort is, Of those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdicti-

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on, and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ*, in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The third sort is, Of those that may be accounted the Left hands of Courts; Persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring Justice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the fourth is, the Poller and Exacter of Fees, which justifies the common resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice* to the *Bush*, whereunto while the sheep flies for Defence in Weather, he is sure to lose part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerk*, skilful in Precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the *Business* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*, and doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himself.

Fourthly, For that which may concern the *Soveraign* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; and to know, that Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* do often consult with *Judges*; and again, when *Judges* do often consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is a matter of Law intervenient in business of State; The other, when there is some consideration of State intervenient in matter of Law. For many times the things deduced to *Judgment* may be *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may Trench to point of *Estate*. I call matter of Estate not only the parts of *Soveraignty*, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Just Laws and true Policy have any *Antipathy*: For they are like Spirits and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* also remember, That *Solomon*'s *Throne* was supported by

Lions on both sides: Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the *Throne*; being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of *Soveraignty*. Let not *Judges* also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a Principal part of their Office, a wise Use and Application of Laws; for they may remember what the *Apostle* saith of a greater *Law* than theirs, *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

## LVII.

## *Of Anger.*

TO seek to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a bravery of the Stoicks. We have better Oracles: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your anger. Anger* must be limited and confined, both in Race and Time. We will first speak, how the Natural Inclination and Habit *to be angry*, may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, How the particular motions of *anger* may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, How to raise *anger*, or appease *anger* in another.

For the first: There is no other way but to Meditate and Ruminate well upon the effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Man's Life. And the best time to do this is, to look back upon *Anger*, when the fit is throughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breaks it self upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possess our Souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of *patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soul.* Men must not turn Bees;

——*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

*Anger*

*Anger* is certainly a kind of Baſeneſs; as it appears well in the Weakneſs of thoſe Subjects in whom it reigns, Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only Men muſt beware, that they carry their *Anger* rather with Scorn, than with Fear: So that they may ſeem rather to be above the injury than below it, which is a thing eaſily done, if a Man will give Law to himſelf in it.

For the ſecond Point. The *Cauſes* and *Motives* of *Anger* are chiefly three: Firſt, to be too *ſenſible* of *hurt*: For no Man is *Angry* that feels not himſelf hurt; and therefore tender and delicate Perſons muſt needs be often *Angry*: They have ſo many things to trouble them, which more robuſt Natures have little ſence of. The next is, the Apprehenſion and Conſtruction of the Injury offered, to be in the circumſtances thereof, full of *contempt*. For *contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much or more than the *hurt* it ſelf: And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumſtances of *contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Laſtly, Opinion of the touch of a Man's *Reputation* doth multiply and ſharpen *Anger*: Wherein the remedy is, that a Man ſhould have, as *Gonſalvo* was wont to ſay, *Telam Honoris Craſſiorem*. But in all refrainings of *Anger*, it is the beſt remedy to win Time, and to make a Man's ſelf believe that the Opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foreſees a time for it, and ſo to ſtill himſelf in the mean time, and reſerve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Miſchief*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two things, whereof you muſt have ſpecial Caution: The one, of extream *bitterneſs of Words*, eſpecially if they be Aculeate and Proper; for *Communia Maledicta* are nothing ſo much. And again, That in *Anger* a Man reveal no Secrets; for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, That you do not *peremptorily break off* in any buſineſs in a fit of

*Anger*; but howsoever you *shew* bitterness, do not *act* any thing that is not revocable.

For *raising* and *appeasing Anger* in another: It is done chiefly by *chusing* of *Times*; when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the *contempt*; and the two *remedies* are by the *contraries*: The former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man an *angry* business: For the first Impression is much; and the other is, to sever as much as may be the Construction of the Injury from the Point of *contempt*; imputing it to Misunderstanding, Fear, Passion, or what you will.

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## LVIII.

## *Of Vicissitude of Things.*

SOLOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but a remembrance:* So *Solomon* giveth his sentence, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion:* Whereby you may see, That the River of *Lethe* runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith, *If it where not for two things that are constant, (The one is, That the fixed Stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, That the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time) no Individual would last one moment.* Certain it is, That the *matter* is in a perpetual Flux, and never at a stay. The great Winding-Sheets that bury all things in Oblivion are two; *Deluges* and *Earthquakes.* As for *Conflagrations* and great *Droughts*, they do not meerly dispeople, but destroy. *Phaeton's* Car went but a Day: And the *Three years Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and left

left People alive. As for the great *burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *Weſt Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Deſtructions, by *Deluge* and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, That the remnant of People which hap to be reſerved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no account of the time paſt; ſo that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you conſider well of the People of the *Weſt-Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a newer or younger People, than the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the deſtruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian* Prieſt told *Solon*, concerning the Iſland of *Atlantis*, *That it was ſwallowed by an Earthquake*) but rather, it was Deſolated by a particular *Deluge:* For *Earthquakes* are ſeldom in thoſe parts. But on the other ſide, they have ſuch *pouring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Aſia*, and *Africk*, and *Europe*, are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewiſe, or Mountains, are far higher than thoſe with us; whereby it ſeems, that the Remnants of Generations of Men were in ſuch a particular *Deluge* ſaved. As for the obſervation that *Machiavel* hath, That the *Jealouſie* of *Sects* doth much extinguiſh the memory of things; traducing *Gregory* the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguiſh all Heathen Antiquities. I do not find that thoſe Zeals do any great Effects, nor laſt long; as it appeared in the Succeſſion of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Viciſſitude* or *Mutations* in the *Superior Globe*, are no fit matter for this preſent Argument. It may be *Plato's Great year*, if the World ſhould laſt ſo long, would have ſome effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals, (for that in the Fume of thoſe, that conceive the Cœleſtial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon theſe things below, than indeed they have) but in Groſs. *Comets* out of queſtion have likewiſe

wise Power and Effect over the Gross and Mass of things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wisely observed in their Effects, especially in their respective Effects; that is, What kind of *Comet* for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the *Low-Countreys*, (I know not in what part) That every five and thirty Years, the same kind and suit of Years and Weathers come about again, as great Frosts, great Wet, great Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of *Nature*, and come to *men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of things amongst *men*, is, The *Vicissitude* of *Sects* and *Religions*: For those Orbs rule in mens minds most. The *true Religion is built upon the Rock*, the rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore of the *Causes* of new *Sects*, and to give some Counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of Humane Judgment can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandal, and withal the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a *new Sect*, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange Spirit to make himself Author thereof: All which points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *new Sect* have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, The Supplanting or the Opposing of Authority established: For nothing is more popular than that. The other is, The giving Licence

to

to pleaſures and Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Hereſies*, (ſuch as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration in States, except it be by the help of Civil Occaſions. There be three manner of Plantations of *new Sects*, By the Power of *Signs* and *Miracles*, by the *Eloquence* and *Wiſdom* of *Speech* and *Perſwaſion*, and by the *Sword*; for *Martyrdoms*, I reckon them amongſt *Miracles*, becauſe they ſeem to exceed the ſtrength of Humane Nature: And I may do the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holineſs* of *Life*. Surely there is no better way to ſtop the riſing of *new Sects* and *Schiſms*, than to reform abuſes, to compound the ſmaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary perſecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterneſs.

The *Changes* and *Viciſſitude* in *Wars* are many, but chiefly in three things: In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *War*; in the *Weapons*, and in the *manner* of the *Conduct*. *Wars* in Ancient Time, ſeemed more to move from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*: For the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars* (which are the Invaders) were all Eaſtern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Weſtern, but we read but of two Incurſions of theirs, the one to *Gallo-Græcia*, the other to *Rome*. But *Eaſt* and *Weſt* have no certain Points of Heaven, and no more have the *Wars* either from the *Eaſt* or *Weſt* any certainty of Obſervation. But *North* and *South* are fixed, and it hath ſeldom or never been ſeen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwiſe. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Nothern *Tract* of the World is in nature the more Martial Religion; be it in reſpect of the Stars of that Hemiſphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almoſt all Sea;

Sea; or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline doth make the bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Wars*. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own Protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it in the decay of the *Roman Empire*; and likewise in the *Empire* of *Almain*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather, and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdoms* do likewise stir up *Wars*. For when a State grows to an Overpower, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the States of *Rome*, *Turkie*, *Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest *Barbarous People*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live; (as it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no danger of Inundations of People; but when there be *great Shoals* of *People*, which go on to populate without foreseeing means of Life and Sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations, which the ancient *Northern People* were wont to do by Lot, casting Lot what part should stay at home, and what should seek their Fortunes. When a *Warlike State* grows *soft* and *effeminate*, they may be sure of a *War*; for commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their Degenerating, and so the Prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a War.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation; yet we see even they have *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known

in

in the City of the *Oxydrakes* in *India*; and was that which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magick. And it was well known, that the uſe of *Ordnance* hath been in *China* above 2000 Years. The conditions of *Weapons*, and their improvement are; Firſt, The fetching afar off; for that out-runs the danger, as it is ſeen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, The ſtrength of the Percuſſion, wherein likewiſe *Ordnance* do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The Third is, The commodious uſe of them; as that they may ſerve in all Weathers, that the Carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *War*; at the firſt Men reſted extreamly upon *Number*, they did put the *Wars* likewiſe upon *main Force* and *Valour*, pointing days for pitched Fields, and ſo trying it out upon an even match, and they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battels*. After they grew to reſt upon *Number*, rather Competent than Vaſt, they grew to *advantages* of *Place*, *Cunning Diverſions*, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the *ordering* of their *Battels*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Arms* do flouriſh; in the *middle Age* of a *State Learning*, and then both of them together for a time: In the *declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanical Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning*, hath his Infancy when it is but beginning, and almoſt Childiſh; then his Youth when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile; then his ſtrength of Years, when it is ſolid and reduced; and laſtly, his *Old Age*; when it waxed dry and exhauſt: But it is not good to look too long upon theſe turning Wheels of *Viciſſitude*, leſt we become giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

*A Frag-*

## LIX.

### *A Fragment of an Eſſay of Fame.*

THE *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monſter.* They deſcribe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and ſententiouſly. They ſay, look how many *Feathers* ſhe hath, ſo many *Eyes* ſhe hath underneath: ſo many *Tongues*; ſo many *Voices*; ſhe pricks up ſo many *Ears.*

This is a *flouriſh*: There follow excellent *Parables*; as that ſhe gathereth ſtrength in going; that ſhe goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That in the day-time ſhe ſitteth in a *Watch-Tower*, and flieth moſt by Night: That ſhe mingleth things done with things not done: And that ſhe is a terror to great *Cities*: But that which paſſeth all the reſt is: they do recount that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War againſt *Jupiter*, and were by him deſtroyed, thereupon, in anger, brought forth *Fame:* For certain it is, that *Rebels* figured by the *Gyants* and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers* and *Siſters*; *Maſculine* and *Feminine.* But now if a Man can tame this *Monſter*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her flie other ravening Fowl, and kill them, it is ſomewhat worth. But we are infected with the ſtile of the *Poets.* To ſpeak now in a ſad and ſerious manner: There is not in all the Politicks, a *Place* leſs handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of *Fame.* We will therefore ſpeak of theſe *points.* What are falſe *Fames*; and what are true *Fames*: and how they may be beſt diſcerned; how *Fames* may be ſown and raiſed; how they may be ſpread and multiplied, and how they may be checked and laid dead: And other things concerning the *Nature* of *Fame.* *Fame* is of that force, as there is ſcarcely

ſcarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great part, eſpecially in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame* that he ſcattered; that *Vitellius* had in purpoſe to remove the *Legions* of *Syria* into *Germany*: and the *Legions* of *Germany* into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæſar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and laid *aſleep* his induſtry and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out, how *Cæſar's* own Soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the Wars, and laden with the ſpoils of *Gaul*, would forſake him as ſoon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* ſetled all things for the Succeſſion of her Son *Tiberius*, by continual giving out, that her Husband *Auguſtus* was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an uſual thing with *Baſhaws*, to conceal the Death of the great *Turk* from the *Janizaries* and Men of War, to ſave the Sacking of *Conſtantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their manner is. *Themiſtocles* made *Xerxes* King of *Perſia* poſt apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out that the *Græcians* had a purpoſe to break his *Bridge* of Ships, which he had made athwart *Helleſpont*. There be a thouſand ſuch like *Examples*; and the more they are, the leſs they need to be repeated; becauſe a Man meeteth with them every where: Therefore, let all wiſe *Governours* have as great a watch and care over *Fame*, as they have of the *Actions* and deſigns themſelves.

*The reſt was not finiſhed.*

## LX.

## *A Civil Character of* Julius Cæsar.

*JULIUS CÆSAR* was partaker at first of an exercised Fortune; which turned to his benefit: For it abated the haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his Industry. He had a Mind, *turbulent* in his Desires and Affections; but in his judgment and understanding very *serene* and *placid*: And this appears by his easie deliverances of himself, both in his Transactions and in his Speech. For no Man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously and plainly. There was nothing forced or difficult in his expressions. But in his will and appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted and pursued after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new Affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh Actions. So that he would put a seasonable period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battels in *Spain*, and weakned their *Forces* by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the Relicks of the *Civil War* there, till he had seen all things composed: But then assoon as that was done, and the State setled, instantly he advanced in his Expedition against the *Parthians.*

He was, no doubt, of a very noble Mind; but yet such as aimed more at his *particular Advancement*, than at many *Merits* for the *Common Good.* For he referred all things to *Himself*; and was the true and perfect *Centre* of all his Actions. By which means, being so fast tied to his Ends, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his Purposes; Insomuch, that neither *Country*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor *Kindred*,

*Kindred*, nor *Friendship* diverted his Appetite, nor bridled him from pursuing his own Ends. Neither was he much inclined to *works* of *Perpetuity*: For he established nothing for the future; He founded no sumptuous *Buildings*; He procured to be enacted no wholsom *Laws*, but still minded himself: And so his thoughts were confined within the Circle of his own Life. He sought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, because he thought they might be profitable to his Designs: Otherwise, in his inward thoughts he propounded to himself rather *Absoluteness* of *Power*, than *Honour* and *Fame*. For as for *Honour* and *Fame*, he pursued not after them for themselves; but because they were the Instruments of *Power* and *Greatness*. And therefore he was carried on through a Natural Inclination, not by any Rules that he had learned, to effect the sole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the same than to *seem worthy* of it. And by this means he won much Reputation amongst the *People*, who are no valuers of true Worth: But amongst the *Nobility* and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the Brand of an *Ambitious* and *Daring Man*.

Neither did they much err from the Truth who thought him so; for he was by Nature exceeding *bold*; and never did put on any shew of *Modesty*, except it were for some purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempered his *Boldness*, that it neither impeached him of Rashness; nor was burthensome to Men; nor rendred his Nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an Innate Sincerity and freeness of Behaviour, and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other things he passed, not for a *Crafty* and *Deceitful* Person, but for an *open hearted* and *plain-dealing* Man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch-Politician*, that could counterfeit and dissemble sufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of *Frauds* and *Deceits*, so that there was nothing *sincere* in him, but all *artificial*; yet he

covered and disguised himself so, that no such Vices, appeared to the Eyes of the World; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all Men. Howbeit, he did not stoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*, as they do, which are ignorant in State Employments; and depend not so much upon the strength of their own Wits, as upon the Counsels and Brains of others, to support their Authority; for he was skilled in the Turnings of all Humane Affairs; and transacted all Matters, especially those of high Consequence by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skilful to avoid *Envy*; and found it not impertinent to his Ends, to decline that, though it were with some diminution of his *Dignity*. For aiming at a *Real Power*, he was content to pass by all vain Pomp and outward shews of Power throughout his whole Life; Till at the last, whether high-flown with the continual *Exercise* of *Power*, or corrupted with *Flatteries*, he affected the *Ensigns* of *Power*, (the *Stile* and *Diadem* of a *King*,) which was the Bait that wrought his Over throw.

This is true, that he harboured the thoughts of a *Kingdom* from his very youth: And hereunto the *Example* of *Sylla*, and the *Kindred* of *Marius*, and his *Emulation* of *Pompey*, and the *Corruption* and *Ambition* of the *Times*, did prick him forward: But then he paved his way to a *Kingdom*, after a wonderful and strange manner. As first, by a *Popular* and *Seditious* Power; afterwards by a *Military Power*, and that of a *General in War*. For there was required to effect his Ends; First, That he should break the *Power* and *Authority* of the *Senate*; which, as long as it stood firm, was adverse, and an hindrance, that no Man could climb to *Soveraignty* and *Imperial Command*. Then the *Power* of *Crassus* and *Pompey* was to be subdued and quelled, which could not be done otherwise, than by *Arms*. And therefore (as the most *Cunning Contriver* of his own *Fortune*) he laid his first Foundation by *Bribes*;

By

By corrupting the *Courts* of *Justice*, by renewing the *memory* of *Caius Marius*, and his party; For most of the *Senators* and *Nobility* were of *Sylla's Faction*: by the *Law* of *distributing* the *Fields* amongst the *Common People*: by the *Sedition* of the *Tribunes*, where he was the *Author*: by the *madness* and *fury* of *Catiline*, and the *Conspirators*, unto which Action he secretly blew the *Coals!* By the *Banishment* of *Cicero*, which was the greatest Blow, to the *Authority* of the *Senate*, as might be; and several other the like *Arts*: But most of all by the *Conjunction* of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, both betwixt themselves, and with him; which was the thing that finished the work.

Having accomplisht this part, he betook himself to the other; which was to *make use* of, and to *enjoy* his *power*. For being made *Proconsul* of *France* for five years; and afterwards continuing it for five years more; he furnished himself with *Arms* and *Legions*, and the power of a Warlike and Opulent *Province*; as was formidable to *Italy*.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthned himself with *Arms* and a *Military Power*, neither *Crassus* nor *Pompey* could ever be able to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted to his great Riches, the other to his Fame and Reputation; the one decayed through Age, the other in Power and Authority: And neither of them were grounded upon true and lasting Foundations. And the rather, for that he had obliged all the *Senators* and *Magistrates*: And in a word, all those that had any power in the *Common-wealth*, so firmly to himself, with private benefits, that he was fearless of any Combination or Opposition against his Designs, till he had openly invaded the *Imperial Power*.

Which things, though he always bare in his Mind, and at the last acted it, yet he did not lay down his former person; but coloured things so, that what with the reasonableness of his Demands, what with

his pretences of Peace, and what with the moderate uſe of his Succeſſes, he turned all the *Envy* of the *Adverſe Party*, and ſeemed to take up *Arms* upon neceſſity for his own preſervation and ſafety. But the falſeneſs of this pretence manifeſtly appeared; inaſmuch as ſoon after having obtained the *Regal Power*, all *Civil War* being appeaſed, and all his *Rivals* and *Oppoſites*, which might put him to any fear, being removed out of the way by the ſtroke of *Death*; notwithſtanding he never thought of *reſigning* the *Republick*; no, nor ever made any ſhew or offer of *reſigning* the ſame. Which ſhewed plainly, that his ambition of being a *King* was ſetled in him, and remained with him unto his laſt breath. For he did not lay hold upon occaſions, as they happen'd, but moulded and formed the occaſions, as himſelf pleaſed.

His chief *Abilities* conſiſted in *Martial Knowledge*; in which he ſo excelled, that he could not only *lead* an Army, but *mould* an Army to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing Affairs, than in *winning* of Hearts. Neither did he effect this by any ordinary Diſcipline, as by inuring them to fulfil all his commands; or by ſtriking a ſhame into them to diſobey, or by carrying a ſevere Hand over them: But by ſuch a way as did wonderfully ſtir up an alacrity and chearfulneſs in them: and did in a ſort aſſure him of the Victory aforehand, and which did oblige the Soldier to him, more than was fit for a *Free Eſtate*. Now whereas he was verſed in all kinds of *Martial Knowledge*, and joyned *Civil Arts* with the *Arts* of *War*; nothing came ſo ſuddenly, or ſo unlookt for upon him, for which he had not a remedy at hand: And nothing was ſo averſe, but that he could pick ſomething for his Turn and Benefit out of it.

He ſtood ſufficiently upon his *State* and *Greatneſs*. For in great Battels, he would ſit at home in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all Things by *Meſſages*, which wrought him a double benefit. Firſt, that it ſecured his

his *Person* more, and exposed him the less to *Danger*. Secondly, that if at any time his *Army* was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the *Addition* of *fresh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not only follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to devise and pursue new *Stratagems*, according as the accidents and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kind, and indulgent in his *Friendships* contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such Friends, as a Man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be *Instruments* to his *Ends*, than for any *Good will* towards them. And whereas, by Nature, and out of a firm Resolution, he adhered to this Principle; not to be eminent amongst *Great* and *deserving* Men; but to be chief amongst *Inferiours* and *Vassals*: he chose only mean and active Men, and such as to whom himself might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying; *So let* Cæsar *live, though I die*: and other Speeches of that kind. As for the *Nobility*, and those that were his *Peers*, he contracted Friendship, with such of them as might be useful to him; and admitted none to his *Cabinet Council*, but those that had their Fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furnished with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in such sort as he applied his skill therein to *Civil Policy*. For he was well read in *History*: and was expert in *Rhetorick*, and the *Art of speaking*. And because he attributed much to his good *Stars*, he would pretend more than an ordinary Knowledge in *Astronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Natural* to him, and *pure*.

He was dissolute, and propense to *Voluptuousness* and *Pleasures*; which served well at first for a Cover to his *Ambition*. For no Man would imagine, that a Man so loosely given could harbour any Ambitious and Vast Thoughts in his Heart. Notwithstanding, he so go-

verned his *Pleasures*, that they were no hindrance, either to his profit, or to his business: And they did rather whet, than dull the vigour of his Mind. He was *Temperate* at his *Meals*; *free from Niceness* and *Curiosity* in his *Lusts*; pleasant and *Magnificent* at *publick Interludes*. Thus being accomplished, the same thing was the Means of his *down-fall* at last; which in his Beginnings was a step to his *Rise*, I mean his *Affectation* of *Popularity*: For nothing is more *popular*, than to *forgive our Enemies*. Through which, either *Virtue* or *Cunning*, he lost his Life.

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## LXI.

## *A Civil Character of* Augustus Cæsar.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, (if ever any *Mortal Man*) was endued with a *greatness* of *Mind*, *undisturbed with Passions*, *clear* and well *ordered*; which is evidenced by the High Atchievements which he performed in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent Nature or Appetite, do commonly pass their youth in many *Errors*; and about their middle, and then, and not before, they shew forth their *Perfections*; but those that are of a sedate and calm Nature, may be ripe for great and glorious Actions in their youth. And whereas the *Faculties* of the *Mind*, no less than the *Parts* and *Members* of the *Body*, do consist and flourish in a good temper of *Health*, and *Beauty*, and *Strength*; So he was in the *strength* of the *Mind*, inferior to his Unkle *Julius*; but in the *Health* and *Beauty* of the *Mind*, superior. For *Julius* being of an unquiet and uncomposed Spirit, (as those, who are troubled with the *Falling-Sickness* for the most part are,) notwithstanding he carried on his own ends with much Moderation and Discretion; but he did not order

der his ends well, propounding to himself, vast and high Designs, above the Reach of a *Mortal Man*. But *Augustus*, as a Man sober, and mindful of his *Mortality*, seemed to propound no other ends to himself, than such as were orderly and well weighed, and governed by *Reason*. For first he was desirous indeed to have the *Rule* and *Principality* in his hands; then he sought to appear worthy of that *Power* which he should acquire: Next, to *enjoy* an *High Place*, he accounted but a *Transitory Thing*: Lastly, He endeavoured to do such *Actions*, as might continue his *memory*, and leave an *Impression* of his *good Government* to *After Ages*. And therefore, in the *beginning* of his *Age*, he affected *Power*; in the *middle* of his *Age*, *Honour*, and *Dignity*; in the *decline* of his *years*, *Ease* and *Pleasure*; and in the *end* of his *Life*, he was wholly bent to *Memory* and *Posterity*.

THE

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FINIS

OF THE

# COLOURS

OF

# GOOD and EVIL;

*A Fragment.*

IN Deliberatives, the Point is, what is Good and what is Evil; and of Good what is greater; and of Evil what is leſs.

So that the Perſwader's Labour, is to make things appear Good or Evil, and that in a higher or lower Degree; which as it may be performed by true and ſolid Reaſons, ſo it may be repreſented alſo by Colours, Popularities, and Circumſtances, which are of ſuch force, as they ſway the ordinary Judgment either of a weak Man, or of a wiſe Man, not fully and conſiderately attending and pondering the matter. Beſides their power to alter the nature of the Subject in appearance, and ſo to lead to Error they are of no leſs uſe to quicken and ſtrengthen the Opinions and Perſwaſions which are true: for Reaſons plainly delivered, and always after one manner, eſpecially with Fine and Faſtidious Minds, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varied, and have more Life and Vigour put into them by theſe Forms and Inſinuations, they cauſe a ſtronger Apprehenſion, and many times ſuddenly win the mind to a Reſolution. Laſtly, To make a true and ſafe Judgment, nothing can be of greater Uſe and Defence to the Mind, than the Diſcovering and Reprehenſion of theſe Colours, ſhewing in what Caſes they hold, and in what they deceive; which, as it cannot be done, but out of a very univerſal knowledge of the Nature of things; ſo being performed, it ſo cleareth Man's Judgment and Election, as it is the leſs apt to ſlide into any Error,

Capita

Capita Sectionum, quæ in *Boni Malique* Colorum Tabula continentur.

1 *Vi cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.*

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.*

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est:* Quod quis, si clam putaret forte, facturus non esset.

4. *Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: Quod sine receptu est, Malum; Nam se recipere non posse, impotentiæ genus est; potentia autem Bonum.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est Majus quam quod ex paucioribus, & Magis Unum: Nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit: Nam inducit similitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem.*

6. *Cujus privatio bona, Malum: Cujus privatio mala, Bonum.*

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: Quod à Bono remotum, Malum.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, Majus Malum: Quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.*

9. *Quod*

9. *Quod opera & virtute noſtra partum eſt, Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, delatum eſt, Minus Bonum.*

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis; & rurſus gradus Inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus Incrementi.*

11. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant & reprehendunt, malum.*

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum Bonum; quod verò ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum Malum.*

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*The* Heads *of the* Sections *of the* Table *of the* Colours *of* Good *and* Evil, *rendred into* Englifh, *are as follow.*

1 *Since all Parties, or Sects, challenge the preheminence of the Firft Place to themfelves; that, to which all the reft with one confent give the Second Place, feems to be better than the others. For every one feems to take the Firft Place out of Zeal to it felf; but to give the Second where it is really due.*

2. *That kind is* altogether beft, *whofe Excellence, or Preheminence is beft.*

3. *That, which hath a relation to* Truth, *is* Greater *than that which refers to* Opinion. *But the Meafure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to* Opinion, *is this*: It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.

4 *That, which keeps a matteer fafe and entire, is* Good, *but what is deftitute and unprovided of Retreat is* Bad. *For whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones felf, is a kind of Impotency.*

5. *That which confifts of more Parts, and thofe* Divifible, *is* Greater, *and* more one, *than what is made up of* Fewer: *For all things when they are looked upon* piece-meal, *feem* Greater; *when alfo a Plurality of Parts make a fhew of a Bulk confiderable: Which a Plurality of Parts effects more ftrongly, if they be in no certain* Order; *for it then refembles an* Infinity, *and hinders the comprehending of them.*

6. *That,*

6. *That, whose Privation* (or, *the Want of which*) *is* Good, *is in it self* Evil: *that, whose Privation* (or *the Want whereof*) *is an* Evil, *is in it self* Good.

7. *What is near to Good, is* Good; *what is at distance from Good, is* Evil.

8. *That which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a* Greater Mischief (*or* Evil:) *that, which is laid on him by others, is a* Lesser Evil.

9. *That, which is gotten by our own Pains and Industry, is a* greater Good: *that, which comes by another Man's Courtesie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a* lesser Good.

10. *The Degree of* Privation *seems Greater than the Degree of Diminution. And again, the Degree of* Inception (*or Beginning*) *seems greater than the Degree of* Increase.

11. *That, which Men commend and celebrate, is good; that, which they dispraise and reprehend, is evil.*

12. *That, which draws commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good; but that, which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.*

A Table of the *Colours* (or *Appearances*) of *Good* and *Evil*; and their *Degrees*, as *Places* of *Perſwaſion*, and *Diſſwaſion*, and their ſeveral *Fallaxes*, and the *Elenchs* of them.

1. *CUI cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, ſecundas unanimiter deferunt, cum ſingulæ principatum ſibi vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur ſumere; ſecundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.* That is,

Since all Parties, or Sects, challenge the Preheminence of the *firſt* Place to themſelves; that, to which all the reſt with one conſent give the *ſecond* Place, ſeems to be better than the others. For every one ſeems to take the *firſt* Place out of zeal to it ſelf, but to give the *ſecond* where it is really due.

SO *Cicero* went about to prove the Sect of *Academicks*, which ſuſpended all *Aſſeveration*, for to be the *beſt*. *For, ſaith he, ask a* Stoick, *which* Philoſophy *is true, he will prefer his own: then ask him, which approacheth (next) the Truth, he will confeſs the* Academicks. *So deal with the* Epicure, *that will ſcant endure the* Stoick *to be in ſight of him; ſo ſoon as he hath placed* himſelf, *he will place the* Academicks *next him.*

So if a Prince took divers Competitors to a place, and examined them ſeverally, whom next themſelves they would chiefly commend; it were like the *ableſt* man ſhould have the moſt *ſecond* Voices.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* happeneth oft in reſpect of *Envy*; for men are accuſtomed, after *themſelves*, and their own *faſhion*, to incline unto them which are ſof-

teſt, and are *leaſt in their way*, in deſpight and derogation of them, that hold them *hardeſt* to it. So that this Colour of *Meliority* and *Preheminence* is a ſign of Enervation and Weakneſs.

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.* That is,

That kind is altogether *beſt*, whoſe Excellence, or Preheminence is beſt.

APpertaining to this are the Forms: *Let us not wander in generalities. Let us compare particular with particular*, &c. This *appearance*, though it ſeem of ſtrength, rather *Logical* than *Rhetorical*, yet is very oft a *Fallax.*

*Sometimes*; becauſe ſome things are in kind very *caſual*; which if they eſcape, prove *excellent*: ſo that the kind is inferior, becauſe it is ſo ſubject to peril; but that which is excellent, being proved, is ſuperior. As the Bloſſom of *March*, and the Bloſſom of *May*, whereof the *French* Verſe goeth:

*Burgeon de Mars, enfans de Paris,*
*Si un eſchape, bien vaut dix.*

So that the Bloſſom of *May* is generally better than the Bloſſom of *March*; and yet the beſt Bloſſom of *March* is better than the beſt Bloſſom of *May.*

*Sometimes*, becauſe the nature of ſome *kinds* is to be more *equal*, and more *indifferent*, and not to have very diſtant Degrees; as hath been noted in the *warmer Climates*, the people are *generally* more wiſe, but in the *Northern Climate*, the Wits of *chief* are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter ſhould be tryed by *Duel* between *two Champions*, the Victory ſhould go on the *one* ſide; and yet, if it were tryed by the *groſs*, it would go on the *other* ſide. For *Excellencies* go as it were

were by *chance*, but *kinds* go by a *more certain Nature* as by *Discipline* in War.

*Lastly*, Many *kinds* have much *refuse*, which countervail that which they have *excellent*; and therefore generally *Metal* is more precious than *Stone*, and yet a *Diamond* is more precious than Gold.

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est*: Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset. That is,

That which hath relation to *Truth*, is *greater* than that which refers to *Opinion*. But the Measure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to *Opinion*, is this: *It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.*

SO the *Epicures* say to the *Stoicks Felicity* placed in *Vertue*; that it is like the felicity of a *Player*, who, if he were left of his *Auditors*, and their *Applause*, would streight be out of Heart and Countenance; and therefore they call *Vertue*, *bonum theatrale*; that is, *a Stage good.* But of *Riches* the *Poet* saith,

*Populus me sibilat,*
*At mihi plaudo:* i. e.

*Me People* hiss *abroad,*
*But I my self* applaud.

And of *Pleasure*,

——— *Grata sub imo*
*Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulato Pudorem:* i. e.

"Your welcome Joys *within* let stifled lie,
"But counterfeit *abroad* a Modesty.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* is somewhat subtil, though the Answer to the Example be ready: For *Vertue* is not chosen *propter auram popularem*, for the applause of *People*; but contrariwise, *Maximè omnium teipsum revere-re*, a Man ought to stand most in awe of himself; so as a *Vertuous* Man will be Vertuous *in solitudine*, in a *Desart*, and not only *in theatro*, upon the *Stage*: though percase it will be more strong by *Glory* and *Fame*, as an *Heat*, which is doubled by *Reflection*. But that denieth the *Suppositition*, it doth reprehend the *Fallax*, whereof the *Reprehension* is a Law, that *Vertue* (such as is joyned with Labour and Conflict) would not be chosen, but for *Fame* and *Opinion*; yet it followeth not, that the *chief Motive* of the Election should not be *real*, and for *it self*; for *Fame* may be only *causa impulsiva*, the *impelling* or *urging* Cause, and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*, the *constituting*, or *efficient* Cause. As if there were two *Horses*, and the one would do better *without the Spur* than the other: but again, the other *with the Spur* would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the *Spur* also; yet the latter will be judged to be the *better Horse*: and the *Form*, as to say, *Tush, the Life of this Horse is but in the Spur*, will not serve as to a *wise* Judgment: for, since the *ordinary Instrument* of Horsmanshap is the *Spur*, and that it is no matter of *Impediment* or *Burthen*, the *Horse* is not to be accounted the less of, which will not do well *without the Spur*, but the other is to be reckoned rather a *Delicacy*, than a *Vertue*. So *Glory* and *Honour* are the *Spurs* to *Vertue*: and, although *Vertue* would *languish* without them, yet since they be always at hand to attend *Vertue*, Vertue is not said to be the less chosen *for it self*, because it needed the *Spur* of *Fame* and *Reputation*. And therefore that Position, *Nota ejus rei, quod propter Opinionem, & non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est*; *Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset*; (*That is, That* the Mark of a Thing chosen for Opinion, and not for Truth-sake; is this, That one would not

not do it if he thought it would not be known,) is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: quod sine receptu est, Malum. Nam se recipere non posse, impotentiæ genus est: potentia autem Bonum:* That is,

That, which keeps a matter safe and entire, is *Good*: but what is destitute, and unprovided of a retreat, is *bad*. For, whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones self, is a kind of Impotency.

HEreof *Æsop* framed the *Fable* of the *two Frogs*, that consulted together in the time of *drought*, (when many *Flashes* that they had repaired to were *dry*,) what was to be done: and the *one* propounded to go down into a deep *Well*, because it was like the *Water* would not *fail* there; but the *other* answered, *Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again*? And the *Reason* is, that *Humane Actions* are so *uncertain*, and subject to *perils*, as that seemeth the *best* course, which had most *passages* out of it. Appertaining to this Perswasion, the *Forms* are, *You shall engage your self:* on the other side, *Tantum, quantum voles, sumes ex fortuna*, i. e. Take what Lot you will; *or, you shall keep the matter in your own Hand.* The *reprehension* of it is, that *preceeding and resolving in all actions is necessary.* For as he saith well, *Not to resolve, is to resolve*; and many times it breeds as many *necessities*, and engageth as far in some other sort, as to resolve. So it is but the *covetous* Man's Disease translated in *power*; for the *covetous* Man will *enjoy nothing*, because he will have his *full store*, and *possibility* to enjoy the more; so, by *this* Reason, a Man should *execute nothing*, because he should be still *indifferent*, and *at liberty* to execute any thing. Besides *Necessity* and this same *Facta est alea*, or, once having *cast the Dice*, hath many times an advantage,

becauſe it a waketh the *powers of* the mind, and ſtrengtheneth endeavour, *(Cæteris pares, neceſſitate certè ſuperiores iſtis:)* which are able to *deal with* any others, but *maſter* theſe upon *neceſſity.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus conſtat, & diviſibilibus, eſt majus, quam quod ex paucioribus, & magis Unum: nam omnia, per partes conſiderata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ ſe fert. Fortius autem operatur Pluralitas partium, ſi Ordo abſit: nam inducit ſimilitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehenſionem;* That is,

That, which conſiſts of more parts, and thoſe *Diviſible*, is *greater*, and *more One*, than what is made up of *fewer*; for all things, when they are looked upon *piece-meal*, ſeem *greater*; whence alſo a purality of Parts make ſhew of a Bulk conſiderable, which a Plurality of Parts effects more ſtrongly, if they be in no certain *Order*; for it then reſembles an *Infinity*, and hinders the comprehending of them.

THIS *Colour* ſeemeth palpable, for it is not *Plurality* of *Parts*, without *Majority* of *Parts*, that maketh the *total* greater; yet nevertheleſs, it often carries the *mind* away; yea, it deceiveth the *ſenſe*; as it ſeemeth to the *Eye* a ſhorter diſtance of *way*, if it be all *dead* and *continued*, than if it have *Trees*, or *Buildings*, or any other *marks*, whereby the *Eye* may divide it. So when a *great-monied* man hath divided his *Cheſts*, and *Coyns*, and *Bags*, he ſeemeth to himſelf richer then he was. And therefore the way to *amplifie* any thing is to *break* it, and to make *Anatomy* of it in *ſeveral parts*, and to examine it according to *ſeveral circumſtances*. And this maketh the greater ſhew, if it be done *without Order*, for *confuſion* maketh things *muſter* more. And beſides, what is ſet down by *Order* and *Diviſion*, doth demonſtrate, that nothing is *left out* or *omitted*; but all is there: whereas,

if

if it be *without Order*, both the mind *comprehendeth* leſs that which is ſet down, and beſides it leaveth a ſuſpicion, as if *more* might be *ſaid* than is *expreſſed*.

This *Colour* deceiveth, if the mind of him that is to be perſwaded, do of it ſelf *overconceive* or *prejudge* of the *greatneſs* of any thing; for then the *breaking* of it will make it ſeem *leſs*, becauſe it makes it to appear more according to the *Truth*. And therefore if a Man be in *Sickneſs* or Pain, the time will ſeem longer *without a Clock*, or *Hourglaſs*, than *with* it: for the mind doth *value every moment*; and then the *Hour* doth rather *ſum up* the *moments* than *divide* the *Day*. So in a *dead Plain* the *way* ſeemeth the *longer*, becauſe the *Eye* hath pre-conceived it *ſhorter*, than the truth; and the *fruſtrating* of that maketh it ſeem *longer* than the truth. Therefore, if any Man have an *over-great Opinion* of any thing, then if another think, by *breaking* it into *ſeveral conſiderations*, he ſhall make it ſeem *greater* to him, he will be *deceived*. And therefore, in ſuch *Caſes*, it is not ſafe to *divide*, but to *extol* the *Entire* ſtill *in general*.

Another *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, is, when the matter *broken*, *or divided*, is not *comprehended* by the ſence, or *made at once* in reſpect of the *diſtracting* or *ſcattering* of it: and being *entire*, and not *divided*, is *comprehended*. As an *Hundred Pounds* in Heaps of *five Pounds* will ſhew *more* than in one groſs Heap: ſo as the Heaps be all upon *one Table* to be ſeen at once, otherwiſe not. As *Flowers*, growing ſcattered in *divers* Beds, will ſhew *more*, than if they did grow in *one* Bed: ſo as all thoſe *Beds* be within a *Plot*, that they be object to view *at once*; otherwiſe not. And therefore *men*, whoſe Living lyeth *together in one Shire*, are commonly counted *greater landed*, than thoſe, whoſe Livings are *diſperſed*, though it be *more*; becauſe of the *notice* and *comprehenſion*.

A third *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, which is not ſo properly a *Caſe* or *Reprehenſion*, as it is a *counter Colour*, being in effect as *large* as the *Colour* it ſelf is,

*Omnis compositio indigentiæ cujusdam videtur esse particeps.* *That* every Composition seems to partake of a certain want; because, if *one* thing would serve the turn, it were ever *best*; but it is the *Defect* and *Imperfection* of things that hath brought in that help to *piece* them *up*: as it is said, **Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit: that is*, Martha, Martha, thou art troubled about many things; one thing is sufficient. So likewise hereupon *Æsop* framed the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Cat*: wherein the *Fox* bragged, what a *number* of *shifts* and *devices* he had, to get from the *Hounds*; and the *Cat* said, He had but *one*, which was to *climb* a *Tree*; which in proof was *better worth* than all the rest; whereof the *Proverb* grew,

* Luk 10. 41, 42.

*Multa novit Vulpes, sed Felis unum magnum.*

*Reynard* the Hounds to scape had shifts not small,
*Grimalkin* only one, as good as all.

And in the *Moral* of this *Fable*, it comes likewise to pass, That *a good sure Friend is a better help at a pinch, than all the Stratagems and Policies of Man's own wit.* So it falleth out to be a *common Error* in *Negotiating*; whereas Men have *many* Reasons to *induce* or *perswade*, they strive commonly to utter, and use them *all at once*, which *weakneth* them. For it argueth, as was said, a *neediness* in every of the *Reasons* by it self, as if one did not trust to *any* of them, but fled from *one* to *another*, helping himself only with *that*.

*Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.*

And what help'd not *alone* before,
Doth help full well, when joyn'd with *more*.

Indeed,

Indeed, in a *ſet Speech* in an *Aſſembly*, it is expected, a Man ſhould uſe *all* his *Reaſons* in the *Caſe* he handleth: but in *private perſwaſions* it is always a *great Error*.

A fourth *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* may be *reprehended* is in reſpect of that ſame *vis unita fortior*, the acknowledged *ſtrength* of an *united Power*; according to the *Tale* of the *FRENCH King*, who, when the *Emperor's Embaſſador* had recited his *Maſter's Style* at large, which conſiſteth of *many Countries*, and *Dominions*, the *FRENCH KING* willed his *Chancellor*, or other *Miniſters*, to repeat over *FRANCE* as many times as the other had recited the ſeveral *Dominions*; intending, it was *equivalent* with them *all*, and more *compacted* and *united*.

There is alſo appertaining to this *Colour* another *Point*, why *breaking* of a thing doth help it; not by way of adding a ſhew of *Magnitude* unto it, but a note of *Excellency* and *Rarity*: whereof the *Forms* are, *Where you ſhall find ſuch a Concurrence? Great, but not compleat*: for it ſeems a leſs work of *Nature* or *Fortune*, to make any thing in his kind *greater than ordinary*, than to make a *ſtrange* Compoſition. Yet, if it be *narrowly* conſidered, this *Colour* will be *reprehended*, or *encountered*, by imputing to *all Excellencies* in *Compoſitions* a kind of *Poverty*, or (at leaſt) a *Caſualty*, or *Jeopardy*: for from that, which is excellent in *greatneſs*, ſomewhat may be *taken*, or there may be a *decay*, and yet *ſufficient* left; but from that which hath his price in *Compoſition*, if you *take away* any thing, or any part do *fail*, all is *Diſgrace*.

6. *Cujus Privatio bona, Malum: cujus Privatio mala, Bonum.* This is,

That, whose Privation (*or*, the want of which) is Good, is in it self *Evil*: that whose Privation (*or*, the want thereof) is an Evil, is in it self *Good.*

THE *Forms* to make it conceived, that that was *Evil*, which is changed for the *better*, are, *He that is in Hell thinks there is no Heaven. Satis quercus*; *Acorns were good, till Bread was found*, &c. And on the other side, the *forms* to make it conceived, that that was *good*, which was changed for the *worse*, are; *Bona magis carendo quam fruendo sentimus: That is*, we understand the Goodness of things more by wanting, than enjoying them. *Bona à tergo formosissima:* i. e. *Good things never appear in their full Beauty, till they turn their back, and be going away*, &c.

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is, That the *Good* or *Evil* which is *removed*, may be esteemed *Good* or *Evil comparatively*: and not *positively* or *simply.* So that if the *Privation* be *Good*, it follows not, that the *former* condition was *Evil*, but *less Good:* For the *Flower* or *Blossom* is a *positive* Good; although the *remove* of it, to give place to the *Fruit*, be a *comparative* Good. So in the *Table* of *Æsop*, when the *old fainting* man in the *heat* of the day cast down his *Burthen*, and called for *Death*; and when *Death* came to know his *will* with him, said, *It was for nothing, but to help him up with his burthen again*; It doth not follow, that because *Death*, which was the *privation* of the *Burthen*, was *ill*, therefore the *Burthen* was *good.* And in this part the ordinary *Form* of *Malum Necessarium*, a necessary Evil, aptly *reprehended* this *Colour*: For *privatio mali necessarii est mala*, the privation of a necessary Evil is Evil; and yet that doth not convert the *Nature* of the *necessary Evil*, but it is *Evil.*

Again it cometh sometimes to pass, that there is an *equality* in the change of *privation*, and (as it were) a

*Dilemma*

*Dilemma boni*, of the *good*; or, *Dilemma mali*, of the *Evil*; so that the **corruption* of *one Good* is a *Generation* of the *other*.

** Corruptio unius est generatio alterius.*

*Sorti pater æquus utrique est*:

Both *Chances* the same *equal Parent* have:

And contrarily, the *remedy* of the *one* Evil, is the *occasion* and *commencement* of *another*; as in *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: quod à Bono remotum, Malum.* That is,

What is near to Good, is *Good*: What is at distance from Good, is *Evil*.

SUCH is the *Nature* of things, that things *contrary*, and *distant* in *nature* and *quality*; and also *severed* and *disjoyned* in *Place*; and things *like*, and *consenting* in *quality*, are *placed*, and (as it were) *quartered together*: For partly, in regard of the *Nature*, to *spread*, *multiply*, and *infect* in similitude; and partly, in regard of the *Nature* to *break*, *expel*, and *alter* that which is *disagreeable* and *contrary*, most things do either *associate*, and *draw near* to themselves the *like*, or (at least) *assimilate* to themselves that which *approacheth near* them, and do also *drive away*, *chase*, and *exterminate* their *contraries*. And that is the *reason* commonly yielded, why the *middle Region* of the Air should be *coldest*; because the *Sun* and *Stars* are either *hot* by *Direct Beams* or by *reflection*. The *direct Beams* heat the *upper Region*; the *reflected Beams* from the *Earth* and *Seas*, heat the *lower Region*. That which is in the *midst*, being farther distant in *place* from these *two Regions* of *heat*, is most distant in *Nature*, that is *coldest*, which is that they term *cold*, or

*hot*,

* *Antiperistasis* is a *Philosophical* Term, signifying *a repulsion on every part, whereby either Heat or Cold is made more strong in it self, by the restraining of the contrary.*

hot, *per* * *Antiperistasin*, that is, *environing* by *contraries:* which was pleasantly taken hold of by him, who said, that *an* honest man *in these days must needs be* more honest *than in Ages heretofore*, propter Antiperistasin, *because the shutting of him in the mid'st of Contraries must needs make the* honester *stronger, and more compact in it self.*

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is:

First, Many things of *Amplitude* in their kind do (as it were) *engross* to themselves *all*, and leave that which is *next* them most *destitute*. As the *Shoots*, or *Under-Wood*, that grow near a *great* and *spread Tree*, is the *most pined* and *shrubby* Wood of the Field; because the *great Tree* doth *deprive* and *deceive* them of the *sap* and *nourishment*; so *he* saith well, *Divitis servi maxime Servi*, *That* rich mens Servants are the greatest Slaves: And the *Comparison* was pleasant to him, that compared *Courtiers* attendant in the *Courts of Princes*, without great *Place* or *Office*, to *Fasting-days*; which were next the *Holy-days*; but otherwise were the *leanest* days in all the Week.

Another *Reprehension* is, that things of *Greatness* and *Predominancy*, though they do not *extenuate* the things adjoyning in *substances*, yet they *drown them*, and *obscure* them in *shew* and *appearance*. And therefore the *Astronomers* say; that, whereas in all *other* Planets *Conjunction* is the *perfectest amity*, the *Sun* contrariwise is *good* by *Aspect*, but *evil* by *Conjunction*.

A third *Reprehension* is, because *Evil* approacheth to *Good*, sometimes for *concealment*, sometimes for *protection*: And *Good* to *Evil* for *conversion* and *reformation*. So *Hypocrisie* draweth near to *Religion* for *covert* and *hiding* it self.

*Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.*

*Oft, under neighb'ring* Good, Vice *shrowded lies.*

And

And *Sanctuary*-men, which were commonly *inordinate* men, and *Malefactors*, were wont to be neareſt to *Prieſts*, and *Prelates*, and *Holy-men*: for the *Majeſty* of *good* things is ſuch, as the *Confines* of them are *reverend*. On the other ſide, our *Saviour* charged with nearneſs of *Publicans* and *Rioters*, ſaid *Matt.* 9. 11. *The Phyſician approacheth the ſick rather than the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa ſua contraxit, Majus Malum: quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.* That is,

That which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a *greater miſchief* (or *Evil*;) that, which is laid on by others, is a *leſſer Evil.*

THE *Reaſon* is, becauſe the *ſting* and *remorſe* of the mind, *accuſing* it ſelf, *doubleth* all Adverſity: Contrariwiſe, the *conſidering* and *recording* inwardly, that a man is *clear* and *free* from *fault*, and juſt *imputation*, doth *attempt* outward Calamities. For if the *Will* be in the *Senſe*, and in the *Conſcience* both, there is a *gemination* of it: But if *Evil* be in the *one*, and *Comfort* in the *other*, it is a kind of *Compoſition*: So the *Poets* in *Tragedies*, do make the *moſt paſſionate Lamentation*, and thoſe that fore-run *final deſpair*, to be *accuſing*, *queſtioning*, and *torturing* of a *man*'s *ſelf.*

*Seque unum clamat cauſamque caputque malorum.*

*She railing doth confeſs her ſelf to be*
*The cauſe and ſource of her own miſery.*

And contrariwiſe, the *extremities* of *worthy* Perſons have been *annihilated* in the conſideration of *their own good deſerving*. Beſides, when the *Evil* cometh from *without*, there is left a kind of *evaporation of grief*, if it come by *humane injury*, either by *indignation*, and *meditating* of *revenge* from our ſelves, or by *expecting*, or *fore-conceiving*, that

that *Nemesis* and *Retribution* will take hold of the *Authors* of our *hurt*; or, if it be by *fortune* or *accident*; yet there is left a kind of *expostulation* against the *Divine Powers*.

*Atque Deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater:*

*The God's and cruel Stars the Mother doth charge.*

But, where the *Evil* is derived from a man's *own fault*, there all strikes *deadly inwards* and *suffocateth*.

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is:

First in respect of *Hope*: For Reformation of our *fault* is in *nostra potestate*, our *own power*; but amendment of our *fortune* simply is not: Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his *Orations* saith thus to the People of *Athens*; *That which having regard to the time* past, *is the worse Point and circumstance of all the rest*; *That as to the time* to come, *is the best*. *What is that? Even this, that by your Sloth, Irresolution, and Misgovernment, your affairs are grown to this Declination and Decay: For, had you used and ordered your means and forces to the best, and done your parts every way to the full; and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backward in this manner as they do; there had been no hope left of Recovery or Reputation. But since it hath been only by your own error*, &c. So *Epictetus* in his *Degrees* saith, *The worst state of man is to accuse extern Things, better than that to accuse any* man's self, *and best of all to accuse neither*.

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour*, is in respect of the *well bearing of Evils*, wherewith a man can charge no body but *himself*, which maketh them the *less*.

——*Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus:*

*The Burthen's light, that's on discreetly laid.*

And therefore many *natures*, that are either *extreamly proud*, and will take *no* fault to *themselves*; or else *very*

*true*

*true*, and *cleaving* to *themſelves*, (when they ſee the *blame* of any thing that falls out *ill*, muſt light upon *themſelves*) have no other *ſhift*, but to *bear* it *out well*, and to *make the leaſt* of it: For, as we ſee, when ſometimes a *fault* is *committed*, and before it be known *who* is to *blame*, much *ado* is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a *Son*, or by a *Wife*, or by a *near Friend*; then it is *light made of*: So much more, when a man muſt *take it upon himſelf*. And therefore it is commonly ſeen, that *Women* which marry *Husbands* of their *own chuſing*, againſt their *Friends conſent*, if they be never ſo *ill-uſed*, yet you ſhall ſeldom ſee them *complain*, but *ſet a good face on it*.

9. *Quod opera & virtute noſtra partum eſt; Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, delatum eſt; Minus Bonum.* That is,

That which is gotten by our own Pains and Induſtry, is a *greater good*; that which comes by another man's Courteſie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a *leſſer Good*.

THE *Reaſons* are,

Firſt, The *future Hope*: Becauſe in the *favour* of *others*, or the *good Winds* of *Fortune*, we have no *ſtate*, or *certainty*; In our *endeavours*, or *abilities*, we have. So as when they have purchaſed us *one good Fortune*, we have them as *ready*, and *better edged* and *environed* to procure *another*.

The *Forms* be: *You have won this by play. You have not only the* Water, *but you have the* Receipt: *You can make it again, if it be loſt*, &c.

Next, becauſe theſe *Properties*, which we enjoy by the *benefit* of *others*, carry with them an *obligation*, which ſeemeth a kind of *burthen*: Whereas the *other*, which *derive* from *our ſelves*, are like the *freeſt Patents*, *Abſque aliquo inde reddendo*, without *making any reſtitution*. And if they proceed from *Fortune*, or *Providence*, yet they ſeem

seem to touch us secretly with the *reverence* of the *Divine Power*, whose *Favours* we *taste*, and therefore work a kind of *Religious Fear* and *restraint*: Whereas, in the *other* kind, that comes to pass, which the *Prophet* speaketh, *Ezek. Lætantur, exaltant, immolant plagis suis & sacrificant reti suo*: Men are *glad*, they *rejoice*, they *offer to their Toils*, and *sacrifice to their Nets.*

Thirdly, Because that, which cometh unto us without *our own Vertue*, yieldeth not that *Commendation* and *Reputation*: For *Actions* of great *Felicity* may draw *wonder*, but *praise* less; as *Cicero* said to *Cæsar*, *Quæ miremur, habemus*; *quæ laudemus, expectamus*: *That is*, They *had* what they might *wonder* at; but *expected* what they might *praise.*

Fourthly, Because the *purchases* of our *own industry* are joyned commonly with *labour* and *strife*; which gives an *edge* and *appetite*, and makes the *fruition* of our Desires more *pleasant*. *Suavis cibus à venatu*: Venison is sweet of ones own killing.

On the other side, there be four *Counter-Colours* to this *Colour*, rather than *Reprehensions*; because they be as *large* as the *Colour it self.*

First, Because *felicity* seemeth to be a *Character* of the *Favour* and *Love* of the *Divine powers*; and accordingly works both of *confidence* in *our selves*, and *respect* and *authority* from *others*. And this *felicity* extendeth to many *casual things*; whereunto the *care* and *virtue* of man cannot *extend*; and therefore seemeth to be at *large* Good. As when *Cæsar* said to the Sailer; *Cæsarem portas, & fortunam ejus*; That he carried *Cæsar* and his *Fortune*: If he had said, *Et virtutem ejus*, and his *Valour*; it had been *small comfort* against a *Tempest*; otherwise than if it might seem upon *Merit*, to induce *Fortune.*

Next, whatsoever is done by *Virtue* and *Industry*, seems to be done by a kind of *Habit* and *Art*; and thereupon open to be *imitated* and *followed*: Whereas *Felicity* is *imitable*. So we generally see, that things of *Nature* seem more excellent than things of *Art*, because they

they be *imitable*; for, *Quod Imitabile est, potentia quadam vulgatum est*: *What is* imitable, *is by a certain power made known abroad.*

Thirdly, *Felicity* commendeth those *things* which come *without* our own *labour*: For *they* seem *Gifts*, and the *others* seem *Penny-worths*. Whereupon *Plutarch* saith elegantly of the *Acts* of *Timoleon*, who was so *fortunate*, compared with the *Acts* of *Agesilaus* and *Epaminondas*; That *they were like* Homer's *Verses*; *they ran so easily, and so well.* And therefore it is the *Word* we give unto *Poesie*, terming it a *happy Vein*; because *Facility* seemeth ever to come from *Happiness*.

Fourthly, This same *præter spem, vel expectatum*, when *things* happen besides *Hope* or *Expectation*, it doth increase the *Price* and *Pleasure* of many things; and this cannot be incident to those *things* that proceed from our own *care*, and *compassing*.

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis*: *Et rursus, Gradus inceptionis major videtur, quam Gradus Incrementi*: That is,

The Degree of *Privation* seems greater than the Degree of *Diminution*: And again, the Degree of *Inception*, (or *Beginning*,) seems greater than the Degree of *Increase*.

IT is a *Position* in the *Mathematicks*, that *there is no Proportion between somewhat and nothing*: Therefore the Degree of *Nullity* and *Quiddity*, (or *Act*) seemeth *larger* than the Degrees of *Increase* and *Decrease*. As to a *Monoculus*, it is more to lose *one Eye*, than to a Man that hath *two Eyes*. So, if one have lost *Divers Children*, it is *more grief* to him to lose the *last*, than *all the rest*; because he is *Spes Gregis*, the *Hope of his Stock*. And therefore *Sibylla*, when she brought her *Three Books* and had burned *Two* did *double* the *whole price of both the other*; because the *burning of that* had been *gradus privationis*, a

Degree of *Privation*, and not *Diminutionis*, of *Diminution*.

This *Colour* is *reprehended*:

First, in those things, the *Use* and *Service* whereof resteth in *sufficiency*, *competency*, or *determinate quantity*: As if a man be to pay *one hundred Pounds* upon *penalty*, it is more to him to want *twelve Pence*, than after that *twelve Pence*, supposed to be *wanting*, to want *ten Shillings* more. So the *decay* of a *Man's Estate* seems to be *most touched* in the Degree, when he *first grows behind*, more than afterwards, when he proves *nothing worth*. And hereof the common *Forms* are; *Sera in fundo parsimonia*; or, *It is too late to pinch when the Purse is at the bottom*; and, *as good never a whit as never the better*.

It is *reprehended* also in respect of that Notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius*: That the Corruption of one thing is the Generation of another. So that *Gradus Privationis*, the *Privative Degree* is many times less *Matter*, because it gives the *cause* and *motive* to some *new Course*. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the People for *hearkning* to the *Conditions* offered by K. *Philip*, being not *honourable*, nor *equal*, he saith, *They were but Elements of their sloth and weakness*; *which if they were taken away, necessity would teach them stronger Resolutions*. So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to the *Dames* of *London*, when they complained, they *were they could not tell how*, but yet they could not endure *to take any medicine*, he would tell them, *their way was only* to be *sick*; *for then they would be glad to take any Medicine*.

Thirdly, this *Colour* may be *reprehended* in respect that the degree of *Decrease* is more *sensitive* than the Degree of *Privation*; for in the mind of Men, *Gradus Diminutionis*, the Degree of *Decrease* may work a *wavering* between *Hope* and *Fear*, and keep the mind in *suspence*, from *settling*, and accommodating in *Patience*, and *Resolution*. Hereof the common *Forms* are; *Better cry out, than always ask*, *make or mar*, &c.

For

For the second *Branch* of this *Colour*, it depends upon the same *General Reason*: Hence grew the *Common Place* of extolling the *beginning* of every thing;

*Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.*

*He hath his Work half done,*
*Whoe'er hath well begun.*

This made the *Astrologer* so idle, as to judge of *Man's Nature*, and *Destiny* by the *Constellation* of the moment of his *Nativity*, or *Conception*.

This *Colour* is *reprehended*, because many *Inceptions* are but (as *Epicurus* termeth them) *Tentamenta*, that is, *imperfect Offers*, and *Essays*, which *vanish*, and come to *no substance*, without any *iteration*; so as, in such *Cases*, the *second Degree* seems the *worthiest*; as the *Body-Horse* in the *Cart*, that draweth more than the *Fore-Horse*. Hereof the common *Forms*; *The second Blow makes the Fray. The second Word makes the Bargain. Alter principium dedit, alter modum abstulit*, &c. The one began, the other kept no mean.

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour*, is in respect of *Defatigation*, which makes *perseverance* of greater Dignity than *Inception*: For *Chance* or *Instinct* of *Nature* may cause *Inception*: but *settled Affection*, or *Judgment*, maketh the *Continuance*.

Thirdly, This *Colour* is *reprehended* in such *things*, which have a *Natural Course* and *Inclination* contrary to an *Inception*: So that the *Inception* is continually *evacuated* and gets no *start*; but there behoveth *perpetua Inceptio*, that there be *always a beginning*; as in the common *Forms*: *Non progredi, est regredi. Not to go* forward, *is to go* backward. *Qui non proficit, deficit. He who makes no* Progress *decays. Running against an Hill*; *Rowing against the Stream*, or with the *Hill*, then the Degree of *Inception* is more than *all the rest*.

Fourthly, this *Colour* is to be understood of *Gradus Inceptionis à potentia ad actum comparati, non gradus ab actu ad Incrementum*; *Of the Degree of* Inception, *in comparison of the* Power *with the* Act, *not of the Degree from the* Act *to the* Increase. For otherwise, *Major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam à potentia ad actum, The Degree from* Impotency *to* Potency, *seems* greater, *than from the* Power *to the* Act.

11. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant, & reprehendunt, malum.*

11. That which Men praise and celebrate, is good; that which they disgrace, and reprehend, is bad.

THis Colour deceives four ways, *viz.* either through Ignorance, or through want of Integrity; or through particular Respect and Faction, or through the natural inclination of those that praise, or dispraise. First, Through *Ignorance*; for what signifies the Judgment of the Rabble in distinguishing and determining Good and Evil? *Phocion* knew well enough, who, when the People applauded him more than ordinary, asked, *Whether he had done any thing amiss?* Secondly, Through *want of Integrity*; for those that praise and dispraise commonly carry on their own Designs and don't speak what they think.

*Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.*

Every Man praises the Wares he would put off.

*It is naught, it is naught, says the Buyer; but when he is gone, he vaunteth.* Thirdly, Out of *Partiality*; for every one knows, that Men use to extol with immoderate praise those that are on their own side, and to depress those of the adverse Party below their desert. Lastly, Through a natural *Inclination*; for some Men are by

by nature framed and moulded for ſervile Fawning and Flattery, whilſt others on the contrary are ſtiff, captious and moroſe; and when theſe commend or inveigh, they do but comply with their own Humours, not troubling their heads overmuch about the Truth of the buſineſs.

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum bonum; quod vero etiam ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum malum.*

12. That which draws commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good; but that which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.

THis Colour ſeems to ſtand upon this Foundation, That it may well be believed, that the force of Truth extorts from us whatſoever we affirm to be againſt our Wills, and contrary to the bent and inclination of our Minds.

This Colour deceives through the ſubtilty, as well of Enemies as Friends: For the praiſes of Enemies are not always againſt their Wills, nor as forc'd by Truth, but they chuſe to beſtow them in ſuch caſes where they may create Envy or Danger to their Adverſaries. Therefore the *Grecians* had a ſuperſtitious Fancy, that if a Man were commended by another out of ſpight, and with a miſchievous deſign, he would have a puſh riſe upon his Noſe: Beſides, ſometimes Enemies beſtow Praiſes, like Preambles as 'twere, that they may the more freely and maliciouſly calumniate. On the other ſide, this Colour deceives, from the craft of Friends; for they'll ſometimes take notice of the faults of their Friends, and ſpeak freely of them; but they chuſe ſuch as may do them little hurt, as if for all the reſt they were the beſt Men in the World. Again, it deceives, becauſe Friends uſe their Reprehenſions (as we ſaid Enemies do their Commendations) as certain little Prefaces, after which they may expatiate more freely in their Praiſes.

*FINIS.*

THE

# WISDOM

OF THE

# ANCIENTS.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honourable Sir *FRANCIS BACON*, Knight, Baron of *Verulam*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Done into *English* by Sir *ARTHUR GORGES*, Knight.

*Scutum invincibile fides.*

*LONDON*,

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# WISDOM
## OF THE
# ANCIENTS

# THE PREFACE.

*THE Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence: Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the Veil of Fiction, which interposed it self, and came between those things which perished, and those which are extant. I suppose some are of opinion, that my purpose is to write Toys and Trifles, and to usurp the same liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (I confess) if I listed. and with more serious contemplation intermix these things, to delight either my self in Meditation, or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how fickle and inconstant a thing Fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies, have for the same intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables: Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late, or now and then: For even* Chrysippus *long ago did (as an Interpreter*

*Interpreter of Dreams*) *aſcribe the Opinions of the Stoicks to the Ancient Poets*; *and more ſottiſhly do the* Chymiſts *appropriate the fancies and Delights of Poets in the Transformation of Bodies, to the Experiments of their Fornace. All theſe things, I ſay, I have ſufficiently conſidered and weighed, and in them have ſeen and noted the general Levity and Indulgence of Men's Wits above Allegories*; *and yet for all this I relinquiſh not my Opinion.*

*For firſt it may not be, that the Folly and Looſeneſs of a few ſhould altogether detract from the reſpect due to the Parables: For that were a conceipt which might ſavour of Profaneneſs and Preſumption: For Religion it ſelf doth ſometimes delight in ſuch Veils and Shadows: So that who ſo exempts them, ſeems in a manner to interdict all Commerce between things Divine and Humane. But concerning Humane Wiſdom, I do indeed ingenuouſly and freely confeſs, that I am inclined to imagine, that under ſome of the Ancient Fictions lay couched certain Myſteries and Allegories, even from their firſt invention. And I am perſuaded (whether raviſhed with the Reverence of Antiquity, or becauſe in ſome Fables I find ſuch ſingular proportion between the ſimilitude and the thing ſignified*; *and ſuch apt and clear coherence in the very Structure of them, and propriety of Names wherewith the Perſons or Actors, in them are inſcribed and intituled*) *that no man can conſtantly deny, but this Senſe was in the Authors intent and meaning, when they firſt invented them, and that they purpoſely ſhadowed it in this ſort: For who can be ſo ſtupid and blind in the open Light, as (when he hears how Fame, after the Giants were deſtroyed, ſprung up as their youngeſt Siſter)*

not

*not to refer it to the Murmurs and seditious Reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of Insurrections? Or when he hears how the Giant* Typhon, *having cut out and brought away* Jupiter's *Nerves, which* Mercury *stole from him, and restored again to* Jupiter; *doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful Rebellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of Money and Authority; but so that by affability of Speech, and wise Edicts (the minds of their Subjects being in time privily, and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their strength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of the Gods against the* Giants) *the braying of* Silenus *his Ass, conduced much to the profligation of the* Giants, *doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew how the greatest enterprizes of Rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain Rumors and Fears.*

*Moreover, to what Judgment can the Conformity and Signification of Names seem obscure? Seeing* Metis, *the Wife of* Jupiter, *doth plainly signifie Counsel:* Typhon, *Insurrection:* Pan, *Universality:* Nemesis, *Revenge, and the like: Neither let it trouble any man, if sometimes he meet with Historical Narrations, or Additions for Ornament's sake, or confusion of Times, or something transferred from one Fable to another, to bring in a new Allegory: For it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the Inventions of Men, which lived in divers Ages, and had also diverse Ends: Some being ancient, others neoterical; some have an eye to things Natural, others to Moral.*

*There is another Argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these Fables contain certain hid-*

*den,*

*den, and involved meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd, and fooliſh in the very relation that they ſhew, and as it were proclaim a Parable afar off: For ſuch Tales as are probable, they may ſeem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of Hiſtory. And as for ſuch as no man would ſo much as imagine or relate, they ſeem to be ſought out for other ends: For what kind of Fiction is that, wherein* Jupiter *is ſaid to have taken* Metis *to Wife; and, perceiving that ſhe was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himſelf conceiving, brought forth* Pallas *armed, out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream (ſo different to the courſe of Cogitation, and ſo full of Monſtroſity,) ever hatch'd in the Brain of Man. Above all things, this prevails moſt with me and is of ſingular moment; many of theſe Fables ſeem not to be invented of thoſe by whom they are related, and celebrated, as by* Homer, Heſiod *and others. For if it were ſo, that they took beginning in that Age, and from thoſe Authors by whom they are delivered, and brought to our hands: My Mind gives me, there could be no great or high Matter expected, or ſuppoſed to proceed from them in reſpect of theſe Originals. But if with attention we conſider the Matter, it will appear, that they were delivered, and related as things formerly believed, and received, and not as newly invented, and offered unto us. Beſides, ſeeing they are diverſly related by Writers that lived near about one and the ſelf-ſame time, we may eaſily perceive that they were common things, derived from precedent Memorials; and that they became various, by reaſon of the divers Ornaments beſtowed on them by particular Relations: And the conſideration of this muſt needs in-*

*creaſe*

*creaſe in us a great opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the time, or inventions of the Poets, but as ſacred Relicks, or abſtracted Airs of better times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations, fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the* Græcians. *But if any do obſtinately contend, That Allegories are always adventitially, and as it were by conſtraint, never naturally, and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troubleſome, but ſuffer them to enjoy that gravity of Judgment, which I am ſure they affect, although indeed it be but lumpiſh, and almoſt leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of,) we will begin a freſh with them in ſome other faſhion.*

*There is found a mong Men, (and it goes for current,) a twofold uſe of Parables, and thoſe, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary ends; conducing as well to the folding up, and keeping of things under a Veil, as to the enlightning and laying open of obſcurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and aſſuming ancient Fables as things vagrant, and compoſed only for delight,) the latter muſt queſtionleſs ſtill remain as not to be wreſted from us by any violence of Wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder; but it muſt abſolutely be received, as a thing grave, and ſober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable, and neceſſary to all Sciences. This is it, I ſay, that leads the underſtanding of Man by an eaſie and gentle paſſage through all novel and abſtruſe inventions, which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the firſt Ages (when many humane Inventions and Concluſions which are now common, and vulgar, were new, and not generally known,) all things were Full of Fables, Enigma's, Parables,*

*rables, and Similies of all sorts: By which they sought to teach, and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; especially seeing the Understandings of Men were in those times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any Subtilties; such things only excepted, as were the Object of Sense; for as* Hieroglyphicks *preceeded Letters, so Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in those days also, he that would illuminate Mens minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with disprofit, and harshness, must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similies. Wherefore after all that hath been said, we must thus conclude:* The Wisdom of the Ancients, *it was either much, or happy: Much, if these Figures and Tropes were invented by study and premeditation; Happy, if they (intending nothing less,) gave Matter, and Occasion to so many worthy Meditations. As concerning my Labours, (if there be any thing in them which may do good,) I will on neither part count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate either Antiquity, or Things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others: But to speak as I think, and that freely without ostentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the Thing, is almost lost by these Men's Writings, though voluminous, and full of Pains, whilst not diving into the depth of Matters, but skilful only in certain common places, have applied the sense of these Parables to certain vulgar, and general Things, not so much as glancing at their true Vertue, genuine Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,) shall be new in common Things. Wherefore leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and richer Matters.*

To

# TO THE
# BOOK.

*Rich Mine of Art, Minion of* Mercury,
*True Truch-Man of the Mind of Myſtery;*
*Invention's Store-Houſe, Nymph of* Helicon;
*Deep Moraliſt of Time, Tradition.*
*Unto this Paragon of* Brutus *Race,*
*Preſent thy Service, and with chearful Grace,*
*Say, (if* Pythagoras *believ'd may be,)*
*The Soul of* Ancient Wiſdom *lives in Thee.*

THE

# THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

## *CASSANDRA, or, Divination.*

THE *Poets* Fable, That *Apollo* being enamoured of *Caſſandra*, was by her many ſhifts and cunning ſlights ſtill deluded in his Deſire; but yet fed on with hope, untill ſuch time as ſhe had drawn from him the Gift of Propheſying; and having by ſuch her Diſſimulation, in the end, attained to that which from the beginning ſhe ſought after; at laſt, flatly rejected his Suit. Who finding himſelf ſo far engaged in his Promiſe, as that he could not by any means revoke again his raſh Gift, and yet enflamed with an earneſt deſire of Revenge, highly diſdaining to be made the ſcorn of a crafty Wench, annexed a Penalty to his Promiſe, *viz.* that ſhe ſhould ever foretel the truth, but never be believed: So were her Divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded; whereof ſhe ſtill found the experience, yea, even in the

ruins

ruine of her own Country, which she had often forewarned them of; but they neither gave credit nor ear to her words. This Fable seems to intimate the unprofitable liberty of untimely admonitions and counsels: For they that are so over-weened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own wit and capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the documents of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn, and observe the method and measure of affairs, the grace and gravity of Discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar Ears, and the due times when to speak, and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their judgments never so profound, and profitable; yet in all their endeavours either of perswasion, or perforce, they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage matters; but do rather hasten on the ruin of all those that they adhere, or devote themselves unto. And then at last, when calamity doth make Men feel the event of neglect, then shall they too late be reverenced as deep, foreseeing, and faithful Prophets. Whereof a notable instance is eminently set forth in *Marcus Cato Uticensis*, who, as from a watch-tower, discovered afar off, and, as an Oracle, long foretold the approaching ruine of his Country, and the plotted Tyranny hovering over the State, both in the first Conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the Civil Contention between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the Commonwealth, and hastned on his Countrey's bane; which *M. Cicero* wisely observed, and writing to a familiar Friend, doth in these terms excellently describe, *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum Reipublicæ: Loquitur enim tanquam in Republica Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli. Cato* (saith he,) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the State; for he speaks in the Commonwealth of *Plato*, and not as in the Dregs of *Romulus*.

## *TYPHON, or a Rebel.*

*JUNO* being vex'd (say the Poets) that *Jupiter* had begotten *Pallas* by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other Gods and Goddesses that she might also bring forth of her self alone without him; and having by violence, and importunity obtained a grant thereof, she smote the Earth, and forthwith sprang up *Typhon*, a huge, and horrid Monster: This strange Birth she commits to a Serpent, (as a Foster-Father,) to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of years, but he provokes *Jupiter* to Battle: In the Conflict the Gyant getting the upper hand, takes *Jupiter* upon his shoulders, carries him into a remote, and obscure Countrey, and (cutting out the sinews of his Hands and Feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maimed. But *Mercury* recovering these Nerves from *Typhon* by stealth, restored them again to *Jupiter*. *Jupiter* being again by this means corroborated, assaults the Monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a Thunder-bolt, from whose Blood Serpents were ingendred. This Monster at length fainting, and flying, *Jupiter* casts on him the Mount *Ætna*, and with the weight thereof crush'd him.

This Fable seems to point at the variable fortune of Princes, and the rebellious insurrection of Traytors in a State: For Princes may well be said to be married to their Dominions, as *Jupiter* was to *Juno*; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of empiring, and bending towards Tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and (contemning the Counsel of their Nobles and Senators) hatch Laws in their own Brain; that is, dispose of things by their own fancy, and absolute power. The people (repining at this) study how to create, and set up a Chief of their own choice. This Project by the secret instigation of the Peers, and Nobles, doth for the

the most part take his beginning; by whose connivence the Commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring, or discontent in the State, shadow'd by the Infancy of *Typhon*, which being nurs'd by the natural pravity, and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort, (unto Princes, as infestuous as Serpents,) is again repaired by a renewed strength, and at last breaks out into open Rebellion, which (because it brings infinite mischiefs upon Prince and People) is represented by the monstrous deformity of *Typhon*: His hundred Heads signifie their divided Powers; his fiery Mouths, their inflamed intents; his Serpentine Circles, their pestilent Malice in besieging; his Iron Hands their mercilefs slaughters; his Eagles Talons, their greedy Rapines; his plumed Body, their continual Rumours, and Scouts, and Fears, and such like; and sometimes these Rebellions grow so potent, that Princes are inforced (transported as it were, by the Rebels, and forsaking the chief Seats and Cities of the Kingdom) to contract their Power, and (being deprived of the Sinews of Money and Majesty,) betake themselves to some remote and obscure corner within their Dominions: but in process of time, (if they bear their Misfortunes with moderation,) they may recover their strength, by the virtue and industry of *Mercury*; that is, they may (by becoming affable, and by reconciling the minds and wills of their Subjects with grave Edicts, and gracious Speech,) excite an Alacrity to grant Aids, and Subsidies, whereby to strengthen their Authority anew. Nevertheless, having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of Fortune by War, and yet study how to suppress the reputation of the Rebels by some famous Action, which if it fall out answerable to their expectation, the Rebels finding themselves weakned, and fearing the success of their broken Projects; betake themselves to some slight, and vain Bravadoes, like the hissing of Serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to flight; and then when

they begin to break, it is ſafe and timely for Kings to purſue, and oppreſs them with the Forces and Weight of the Kingdom, as it were with the Mountain *Ætna*.

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## *The* CYCLOPS, *or the Miniſters of Terror.*

THey ſay that the *Cyclops*, for their fierceneſs, and cruelty, were by *Jupiter* caſt into Hell, and there doomed to perpetual impriſonment; but *Tellus* perſwaded *Jupiter* that it would do well, if being ſet at liberty, they were put to forge Thunder-bolts, which being done accordingly, they became ſo painful and induſtrious, as that day and night they continued hammering out in laborious diligence Thunder-bolts, and other Inſtruments of Terror. In proceſs of time *Jupiter* having conceived a Diſpleaſure againſt *Æſculapius*, the Son of *Apollo*, for reſtoring a dead Man to life by Phyſick; and concealing his diſlike, (becauſe there was no juſt cauſe of anger, the deed being pious and famous,) ſecretly incens'd the *Cyclops* againſt him, who without delay ſlew him with a Thunder-bolt. In revenge of which act, *Apollo* (*Jupiter* not prohibiting it) ſhot them to death with his Arrows.

This Fable may be applied to the Projects of Kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting Officers, do firſt puniſh and diſplace them; afterwards by the counſel of *Tellus*, that is, of ſome baſe, and ignoble Perſon, and by the prevailing reſpect of Profit, they admit them into their Places again, that they may have Inſtruments in a readineſs, if at any time there ſhould need either ſeverity of execution, or acerbity of exaction. Theſe ſervile Creatures being by nature cruel, and by their former fortune exaſperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their hands, do ſhew themſelves wonderful officious in ſuch kind of Employments; but being too raſh, and precipitate in ſeeking

seeking countenance, and creeping into favour, do sometimes take occasion from the secret Beckonings, and ambiguous Commands of their Prince, to perform some hateful execution. But Princes (abhorring the Fact, and knowing well, that they shall never want such kind of Instruments,) do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the Friends and Allies of the wronged, to their Accusations and Revenge, and to the general Hatred of the People; so that with great Applause, and prosperous Wishes and Acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought, rather too late, than undeservedly, to a miserable end.

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## *NARCISSUS, or, Self-Love.*

THey say, that *Narcissus* was exceeding fair and beautiful, but wonderful proud and disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary Life in the Woods and Chases, with a few Followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongst the rest, there follows him the Nymph *Echo*. During his Course of Life, it fatally so chanced, that he came to a clear Fountain, upon the Bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the heat of the Day. And having espied the shadow of his own Face in the Water, was so besotted, and ravished with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that he by no means possible could be drawn from beholding his Image in this Glass; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a Flower of his own Name, which appears in the beginning of the Spring, and is sacred to the infernal Powers, *Pluto*, *Proserpina*, and the *Furies*.

This Fable seems to shew the Dispositions, and Fortunes of those, who in respect either of their Beauty, or other Gift wherewith they are adorned, and graced by

Nature, without the help of Industry, are so far besotted in themselves, as that they prove the cause of their own destruction. For it is the property of Men infected with this Humour, not to come much abroad, or to be conversant in Civil Affairs, especially seeing those that are in publick Place, must of necessity encounter with many Contempts, and Scorns, which may much deject, and trouble their Minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure Life, attended on with a few Followers, and those, such as will adore, and admire them, like an *Echo* flatter them in all their Sayings, and applaud them in all their Words. So that being by this Custom seduced, and puft up, and as it were, stupified with the admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a Sloth and Idleness, that they grow in a manner benumb'd, and defective of all vigour and alacrity. Elegantly doth this Flower, appearing in the beginning of the Spring, represent the likeness of these Men's Dispositions, who, in their youth do flourish, and wax famous; but being come to ripeness of years, they deceive and frustrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this Flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal Deities, because Men of this disposition become unprofitable to all Humane things: For whatsoever produceth no Fruit of it self, but passeth, and vanisheth as if it had never been, (like the way of a Ship in the Sea,) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate to the Ghosts, and Powers below.

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## *STYX, or Leagues.*

THE Oath by which the Gods were wont to oblige themselves, (when they meant to ratifie any thing so firmly as never to revoke it,) is a thing well known to the Vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every Fable,

ble, which was when they did not invoke or call to witness any Celestial Majesty, or Divine Power, but only the River *Styx*, that with crooked and *Meandry* Turnings incircleth the Palace of the infernal *Dis*. This was held as the only manner of their Sacrament; and besides it, not any other Vow to be accounted firm, and inviolable; and therefore the punishment to be inflicted, (if any did perjure themselves,) was, that for certain years they should be put out of Commons, and not to be admitted to the Table of the Gods.

This Fable seems to point at the Leagues and Pacts of Princes, of which, more truly, than opportunely, may be said, That be they never so strongly confirmed with the Solemnity and Religion of an Oath, yet are for the most part, of no validity; insomuch that they are made rather with an Eye to Reputation, and Report, and Ceremony; than to Faith, Security, and Effect. Moreover, add to these the Bond of Affinity, as the Sacraments of Nature, and mutual Deserts of each Part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these things are placed a degree under Ambition and Profit, and the licentious desire of Domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easie thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful Desires and unfaithful Vows, with many outwardly seeming fair Pretexts, especially seeing there is no Umpire or Moderator of Matters concluded upon to whom a reason should be tendred. Therefore there is no true and proper thing made choice of, for the confirmation of Faith, and that no celestial Power neither, but is indeed *Necessity*, (a great God to great Potentates,) the Peril also of State, and the Communication of Profit. As for *Necessity*, it is elegantly represented by *Styx*, that fatal and irremeable River; and this Godhead did *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, call to the Confirmation of a League; who because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their Breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his words. He observing how the *Lacedæmonians*

had thought upon, and propounded divers Cautions, Sanctions, Confirmations and Bonds, pertaining to Leagues, interposed thus: *Unum Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum & securitatis ratio esse possit; si plane demonstretis, vos ea nobis concessisse, & inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppetere possit.* There is one thing (O *Lacedæmonians*) that would link us unto you in the Bond of Amity, and be the occasion of Peace and Security; which is, if you would plainly demonstrate, that you have yielded up and put into our hands, such things as that, would you hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of means to do it. If therefore the power of hurting be taken away, or if by breach of League there follow the danger of the ruine or diminution of the State or Tribute; then indeed the Leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the Sacrament of the *Stygian* Lake; seeing that it includes the fear of Prohibition and Suspension from the Table of the Gods, under which Name the Laws and Prerogatives, the Plenty and Felicity of a Kingdom were signified by the *Ancients*.

## *P A N, or Nature.*

THE *Ancients* have exquisitely described *Nature* under the Person of *Pan*, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the Son of *Mercury*, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Off-spring of *Penelope*'s Suitors, upon a suspicion, that every one of them had to do with her; which latter relation doubtless gave occasion to some after Writers to entitle this ancient Fable with the Name of *Penelope*, a thing very frequent amongst them, when they apply old Fictions to young Persons and Names, and that many times absurdly

absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: For *Pan* being one of the Ancient Gods, was long before the time of *Ulysses* and *Penelope*. Besides (for her Matronal Chastity) she was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third conceit of his Birth: For some say, That he was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Hybris*, which signifies contumely or disdain. But howsoever begotten, the *Parcæ* (they say) were his Sisters. He is pourtrayed by the *Ancients* in this guise; on his Head a pair of Horns to reach to Heaven, his Body rough and Hairy, his Beard long and shaggy, his Shape biformed, above like a Man, below like a Beast, his Feet like Goat's-hoofs, bearing these Ensigns of his Jurisdiction, to wit, in his left-hand a Pipe of seven Reeds, and in his right a Sheep-hook, or a Staff crooked at the upper end, and his Mantle made of a *Leopard*'s Skin. His Dignities and Offices were these: He was the God of Hunters, of Shepherds, and of all Rural Inhabitants: Chief President also of Hills and Mountains, and next to *Mercury*, the Embassador of the Gods. Moreover, He was accounted the Leader and Commander of the *Nymphs*, which were always wont to dance the rounds, and frisk about him; he was accosted by the *Satyrs* and the old *Sileni*. He had power also to strike Men with terrors, and those especially vain and superstitious, which are termed *Panick fears*. His acts were not many, for ought that can be found in Records, the chiefest was, that he challenged *Cupid* at wrestling, in which conflict he had the foil. The Tale goes too, how that he caught the Gyant *Typhon* in a Net, and held him fast. Moreover, where *Ceres* (grumbling and chafing that *Proserpina* was ravished) had hid her self away, and that all the Gods took pains (by dispersing themselves into every corner) to find her out, it was only his good hap (as he was hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the Tryal who was the best Musician, he or

*Apollo*,

*Apollo*, and by the judgment of *Midas* was indeed preferred: But the wise Judge had a pair of Asses Ears privately chopt to his Noddle for his Sentence. Of his Love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at least not much, a thing to be wondered at, especially being among a Troop of Gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the Nymph *Echo* (whom he took to Wife) and one pretty Wench more called *Sirynx*, towards whom *Cupid* (in an angry and revengeful humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at a Wrestling) inflamed his desire. Moreover, he had no Issue (which is a marvel also, seeing the Gods, especially those of the Male kind, were very generative) only he was the reputed Father of a little Girl called *Jambe*, that with many pretty Tales was wont to make strangers merry; but some think that he did indeed beget her by his Wife *Jambe*. This (if any be) is a noble Tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the Secrets and Mysteries of Nature.

*Pan* (as his Name imports) represents and lays open the All of things or Nature. Concerning his original there are two only Opinions that go for currant; for either he came of *Mercury*, that is, the word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all controversie affirm, and such of the Philosophers as had any smack of Divinity assented unto; or else from the confused Seeds of things. For they that would have one simple beginning, refer it unto God; or if a materiate beginning, they would have it various in power. So that we may end the controversie with this Distribution, That the world took beginning, either from *Mercury*, or from the Seeds of all things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

*Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.*
*Semina terrarumque, animæque, marisque fuissent,*

*Et liquidi simul ignis: Et his exordia primis*
*Omnia, & ipse tener mundi concreverit Orbis.*

For rich-vein'd *Orpheus* sweetly did rehearse
How that the Seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pact in the vast void Universe:
And how from these as Firstlings, all had birth,
And how the Body of this Orbick frame,
From tender infancy so big became.

But, as touching the third conceit of *Pan*'s Original, it seems that the *Grecians* (either by intercourse with the *Ægyptians*, or one way or other) had heard something of the *Hebrew* Mysteries; for it points to the state of the World, not considered in immediate Creation, but after the fall of *Adam*, exposed and made subject to Death and Corruption: For in that state it was (and remains to this day) the Off-spring of God and Sin. And therefore all these Three Narrations concerning the manner of *Pan*'s birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between Things and Times. For this *Pan* or Nature (which we suspect, contemplate, and reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the Word of God by the means of confused Matter, and the entrance of Prevarication and corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the Sisters of *Pan* or *Nature*, because the beginnings and continuances, and corruptions and Depressions, and dissolutions, and eminencies, and labours, and felicities of things, and all the chances which can happen unto any thing, are linkt with the Chain of Causes natural.

*Horns* are attributed unto him, because Horns are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, the nature of all things being like a *Pyramis*, sharp at the top. For individual or singular things being infinite, are first collected into *species*, which are many also; then from *species* into *generals*, and from *generals* (by ascending) are contracted into things or notions more general; so

that at length *Nature* may seem to be contracted into an unity. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Pan* toucheth Heaven with his Horns, seeing the height of Nature or universal *Ideas* do, in some sort, pertain to things Divine, and there is a ready and short Passage from *Metaphysicks* to natural *Theology*.

The Body of *Nature* is elegantly and with deep judgment depainted hairy, representing the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are as it were the Hairs and Bristles of *Nature*, and every creature is either more or less beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of seeing, and no less in every vertue and operation that effectuates upon a distant Object, for whatsoever works upon any thing afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth Rays or Beams.

Moreover, *Pan*'s Beard is said to be exceeding long, because the beams or influences of Cœlestial Bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the Sun, when (his higher half is shadowed with a Cloud) his Beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were bearded.

*Nature* is also excellently set forth with a biformed Body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior Creatures. For one part by reason of their Pulcritude, and equability of motion, and Constancy and Dominion over the Earth and Earthly things, is worthily set out by the shape of Man: And the other part in respect of their perturbations and unconstant motions, (and therefore needing to be moderated by the Celestial) may be well fitted with the Figure of a Brute Beast. This Description of his Body pertains also to the participation of *Species*, for no natural being seems to be simple, but as it were participated and compounded of two. As for example, Man hath something of a Beast, a beast something of a Plant, a Plant something of inanimate Body, of that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior *Species*.

It

It is a very witty Allegory, that same of the Feet of the Goat, by reason of the upward tending motion of Terrestrial Bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing Creature, that loves to be hanging about the Rocks and steep Mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner, even by those things which are destinated to this inferior Globe, as may manifestly appear in Clouds and Meteors.

The two Ensigns which *Pan* bears in his hands, do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empire: For the Pipe consisting of seven Reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the consent, and Harmony, and discordant concord of all inferior Creatures, which is caused by the Motion of the Seven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently apply'd to the order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This Staff therefore or Rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the works of Divine Providence in the World are done in a far fetcht and circular manner, so that one thing may seem to be affected and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass; as the selling of *Joseph* into *Ægypt*, and the like. Besides in all wise Humane Government, they that sit at the Helm do more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the minds of the People, by pretexts and oblique courses, than by direct methods: So that all Scepters and Masses of Authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

*Pan*'s Cloak or Mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a Skin of a Leopard, because it is full of Spots: So the Heavens are spotted with Stars, the Sea with Rocks and Islands, the Land with Flowers, and every particular Creature also is for the most part garnished with divers colours about the superficies, which is as it were a Mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively conceived and expresst, as by feigning him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural action, and so by consequence,

quence, Motion and Progression, is nothing else but a Hunting. Arts and Sciences have their works, and Humane Counsels their ends which they earnestly hunt after. All natural things have either their Food as a Prey, or their Pleasure as a Recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

*Torva Leæna Lupum sequitur, Lupus ipse Capellam.*
*Florentem Cytisum sequitur lasciva Capella.*

The hungry Lioness, (with sharp desire)
Pursues the Wolf, the Wolf the wanton Goat:
The Goat again doth greedily aspire
To have the Trifoil Juyce pass down her Throat.

*Pan* is also said to be the God of the Country-Clowns, because Men of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature, than those that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where Nature by too much Art is corrupted: So as the saying of the Poet (though in the sense of Love) might be here verified.

*Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

The Maid so trickt her self with Art,
That of her self she is least part.

He was held to be Lord President of the Mountains, because in the high Mountains and Hills, *Nature* lays her self most open, and Men most apt to view and contemplation.

Whereas *Pan* is said to be (next unto *Mercury*) the Messenger of the Gods, there is in that a Divine Mystery contained, for next to the Word of God, the Image of the World proclaims the Power and Wisdom Divine, as sings the Sacred Poet, *Psal.* xix. 1. *Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.*

The

The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth the Works of his Hands.

The *Nymphs*, that is, the Souls of living things take great delight in *Pan*. For these Souls are the delights or minions of *Nature*, and the direction or conduct of these *Nymphs* is with great reason attributed unto *Pan*, because the Souls of all things living, do follow their natural dispositions as their guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after his own fashion doth leap, and frisk and dance with incessant motions about her. The *Satyrs* and *Sileni* also, to wit, Youth and Old Age, are some of *Pan*'s followers: For of all natural things, there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may say) a dancing age, and an age again that is dull, bibling, and reeling. The carriages and dispositions of both which ages, to some such as *Democritus* was, (that would observe them duly,) might peradventure seem as ridiculous and deformed, as the gambols of the *Satyrs*, or the gestures of the *Sileni*.

Of those fears and terrors which *Pan* is said to be the Author, there may be this wise construction made: Namely, that Nature hath bred in every living thing a kind of care and fear, tending to the Preservation of its own life and being, and to the repelling and shunning of all things hurtful. And yet *Nature* knows not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes vain and empty fears with such as are discreet and profitable: So that all things (if their insides might be seen) would appear full of *Panick* frights: But Men especially in hard, fearful, and diverse times, are wonderfully infatuated with superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a *Panick* terror.

Concerning the audacity of *Pan* in challenging *Cupid* at wrestling: The meaning of it is, that Matter wants not inclination and desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the World into the old *Chaos*, if her malice and violence were not restrained and kept in order, by the prepotent unity and agreement of things signified by *Cupid*,

*Cupid*, or the God of Love; and therefore it was a happy turn for Men, and all things else, that in their conflict *Pan* was found too weak, and overcome.

To the same effect may be interpreted his catching of *Typhon* in a Net: For howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted Tumours (as the Name of *Typhon* imports) either in the Sea or in the Air, or in the Earth, or elsewhere; yet *Nature* doth intangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and restrain in, as it were with a Chain of Adamant, the excesses and insolencies of these kind of Bodies.

But forasmuch as it was *Pan*'s good fortune to find out *Ceres* as he was Hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave admonition, That we expect not to receive things necessary for life and manners from Philosophical Abstractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other study, but from *Pan*; that is, from the discreet observation and experience, and the universal knowledge of the things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a Hunting) such Inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrel he made with *Apollo* about *Musick*, and the event thereof contains a wholsome instruction, which may serve to restrain Men's Reasons and Judgments with Reins of Sobriety, from boasting and glorying in their gifts. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, or Musick; the one of Divine Providence, and the other of Humane Judgment, the Administration of the World and Creatures therein, and the more secret Judgments of God, sound very hard and harsh; which folly, albeit it be well set out with Asses Ears; yet notwithstanding these Ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly,

Lastly, It is not to be wondred at, that there is nothing attributed unto *Pan* concerning Loves, but only of his marriage with *Echo*: For the World or Nature doth enjoy it self, and in it self all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough, there is no place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanting love in *Pan*, or the World, nor desire to obtain any thing (seeing he is contented with himself) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph *Echo*; or if more quaint by *Syrinx*. It is an excellent invention that *Pan*, or the World is said to make choice of *Echo* only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of the World; and it is written no otherwise than the World doth dictate, it being nothing else but the Image or Reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and resounds It belongs also to the sufficiency or perfection of the World, that he begets no Issue: For the World doth generate in respect of its parts, but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no Body? Notwithstanding all this, the Tale of that tatling Girl fathered upon *Pan*, may in very deed, with great Reason, be added to this Fable: For by her are represented those vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of things which have been frequent in all Ages, and have filled the World with Novelties; Fruitless, if you respect the Matter; Changlings if you respect the Kind; sometimes creating Pleasure, sometimes tediousness with their overmuch pratling.

## *PERSEUS, or War.*

*PERSEUS* is said to have been employed by *Pallas*, for the destroying of *Meduſa*, who was very infestuous to the Western Parts of the World, and especially about the utmost Coasts of *Hiberia*. A Monster so dire and horrid, that by her only Aspect she turned Men into Stones. This *Meduſa* alone of all the *Gorgons* was mortal, the rest not subject to Death. *Perſeus* therefore preparing himself for this noble enterprise, had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three of the Gods: *Mercury* gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, *Pluto* a Helmet, *Pallas* a Shield and a Looking-Glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to *Meduſa*, but first to the *Greæ*, which by the Mothers side were Sisters to the *Gorgons*. These *Greæ* from their Birth were Hoar-headed, resembling old Women. They had but one only Eye, and one Tooth among them all; both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This Eye and Tooth they lent to *Perſeus*; and so finding himself throughly furnished for the effecting of his design, hastens towards *Meduſa*. Her he found sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his Face towards her, lest she should awake; but turning his Head aside, beheld her in *Pallas*'s Glass, and (by this means directing his blow) cut off her Head; from whose Blood gushing out, instantly came *Pegaſus*, the Flying-Horse. Her Head thus smote off. *Perſeus* bestows on *Pallas* her Shield, which yet retained this Vertue, that whosoever looked upon it, should become as stupid as a Stone, or like one Plannet-strucken.

This Fable seems to direct the preparation and order, that is to be used in making of War; for the more apt and considerate undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesom

wholesom Precepts (savouring of the wisdom of *Pallas*) are to be observed.

First, That Men do not much trouble themselves about the Conquest of Neighbour Nations, seeing that private possessions and Empires are enlarged by different means: For in the augmentation of private Revenues, the vicinity of Mens Territories is to be considered; but in the propagation of Publick Dominions, the occasion and facility of making War, and the Fruit to be expected ought to be instead of vicinity. Certainly the *Romans*, what time their Conquests towards the West, scarce reacht beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the East bring all the Provinces as far as the Mountain *Taurus* within the compass of their Arms and Command; and therefore *Perseus*, although he were bred and born in the East, did not yet refuse to undertake an expedition even to the uttermost bounds of the West.

Secondly, There must be a care had that the Motives of War be just and honourable, for that Begets an alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that fight, as in the People that pay; it draws on and procures Aids, and brings many other Commodities besides. But there is no pretence to take up Arms more pious, than the suppressing of Tyranny; under which Yoke, the People lose their Courage, and are cast down without heart and vigor, as in the sight of *Medusa*.

Thirdly, It is wisely added, that seeing there were three *Gorgons* (by which Wars are represented) *Perseus* undertook her only that was mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of War as was likely to be effected and brought to a period, not pursuing vast and endless hopes.

The furnishing of *Perseus* with necessaries was that which only advanced his attempt, and drew *Fortune* to be of his side; for he had speed from *Mercury*, concealing of his Counsels from *Orcus*, and *Providence* from *Pallas*.

Neither is it without an Allegory, and that full of matter too, that those Wings of Celerity were fastned to *Perseus*'s Heels, and not to his Ankles, to his Feet, and not to his Shoulders; because speed and celerity is required, not so much in the first preparations for War, as in those things which second and yield aid to the first; for there is no Error in War more frequent, than that Prosecutions and Subsidiary forces do fail to answer the alacrity of the first onsets.

Now for that Helmet which *Pluto* gave him, powerful to make Men invisible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold gift of Providence, (to wit, the Shield and Looking-Glass) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield avoids the force of blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the strength and motions, and Counsels of the Enemy are descry'd, as in the Looking-Glass of *Pallas*.

But *Perseus*, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of special importance before he entred the Lists with this Monster, and that was to have some intelligence with the *Græ*. These *Græ* are Treasons which may be termed the Sisters of War not descended of the same stock, but far unlike in Nobility of Birth; for Wars are generous and heroical, but Treasons are base and ignoble. Their description is elegant, for they are said to be Gray-headed, and like old Women from their Birth; by reason that Traytors are continually vext with cares and trepidations. But all their strength (before they break out into open Rebellions) consists either in an Eye or in a Tooth; for every Faction alienated from any State, contemplates and bites. Besides, this Eye and Tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know, is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of Faction. And as concerning the Tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same song; so that hear one, and you hear all. *Perseus* therefore was to deal with these *Græ* for the love of their

Eye

Eye and Tooth. Their Eye to discover, their Tooth to sow Rumours and stir up Envy, and to molest and trouble the Minds of Men. These things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the Action of War, and sets upon *Medusa* as she slept; for a wise Captain will ever assault his Enemy, when he is unprepared and most secure; and then is there good use of *Pallas* her Glass: For most Men, before it come to the push, can acutely pry into and discern their Enemies estate; but the best use of this Glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass with the face turned from *Medusa*.

The Monster's Head being cut off, there follow two effects. The first was, the procreation and raising of *Pegasus*, by which may be evidently understood *Fame*, that (flying through the World) proclaims Victory. The second is the bearing of *Medusa*'s Head in his Shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the Motions and Insolencies of Enemies, and makes Envy her self silent and amazed.

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## *ENDYMION, or a Favourite.*

IT is said, that *Luna* was in love with the Shepherd *Endymion*, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her Affection: For he lying in a Cave framed by Nature under the Mountain *Latmus*, she oftentimes descended from her Sphere to enjoy his company as he slept; and after she had kissed him, ascended up again. Yet notwithstanding this his idleness, and sleepy security, did not any way impair his Estate or Fortune; for *Luna* brought it so to pass, that he

alone (of all the rest of the Shepherds) had his Flock in best plight, and most fruitful.

This Fable may have reference to the Nature and Dispositions of Princes; for they being full of doubts, and prone to jealousie, do not easily acquaint Men of prying and curious Eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful dispositions, with the secret humours and manners of their Life; but such rather as are of quiet and observant Natures, suffering them to do what they list without further scanting, making as if they were ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a stupid disposition, and possest with sleep, yielding unto them simple obedience, rather than slie Complements; For it pleaseth Princes now and then to descend from their Thrones or Majesty (like *Luna* from the superior Orb) and laying aside their Robes of Dignity (which always to be cumbred with, would seem a kind of burthen) familiarly to converse with Men of this condition, which they think may be done without danger; a quality chiefly noted in *Tiberius Cæsar*, who (of all o hers) was a Prince most severe; yet such only were gracious in his favour, as being well acquainted with his disposition, did yet constantly dissemble, as if they knew nothing. This was the Custom also of *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, a cautious and wily Prince.

Neither is it without Elegancy, that the cause of *Endymion* is mentioned in the Fable, because that it is a thing usual with such as are the Favourites of Princes, to have certain pleasant retiring places, whither to invite them for Recreation both of Body and Mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their Fortunes also. And indeed these kind of Favourites are Men commonly well to pass; for Princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to Places of Honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their favour and countenance: Neither do they affect them thus, only to serve their own turn; but are wont to enrich

inrich them now and then with great Dignities, and Bounties.

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## *The Sister of the* GIANTS, *or Fame.*

IT is a Poetical Relation, that the Giants begotten of the Earth, made War upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods; and by the force of Lightning, they were resisted and overthrown. Whereat the Earth being excitated to wrath, in revenge of her Children brought forth *Fame*, the youngest Sister of the Giants.

*Illam terra parens ira irritata Deorum,*
*Extremam (ut prohibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem*
*Progenuit* ———

Provok'd by wrathful Gods, the Mother Earth
Gives *Fame*, the Giants youngest Sister, Birth.

The meaning of the Fable seems to be thus: By the Earth, is signified the Nature of the Vulgar, always swoln and malignant, and still broaching new scandals against Superiors, and having gotten fit opportunity, stirs up Rebels and Seditious Persons, that with impious outrage do molest Princes, and endeavour to subvert their Estates; but being suppress, the same natural disposition of the People still leaning to the viler sort, (being impatient of Peace and Tranquility,) spread Rumours, raise malicious Slanders, repining Whisperings, infamous Libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in Authority: So as Rebellious Actions, and Seditious Reports, differ nothing in Kind and Blood, but as it were in Sex only; the one sort being Masculine, and the other Feminine.

## *ACTÆON and PENTHEUS, or a Curious Man.*

THe curiosity of Men, in prying into secrets, and coveting with an undiscreet desire to attain the knowledge of things forbidden, is set forth by the Ancients in two other Examples: The one of *Actæon*, the other of *Pentheus*.

*Actæon* having unawares, and as it were by chance beheld *Diana* naked, was turned into a Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And *Pentheus* climbing up into a Tree, with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, was strucken with such a kind of frensie, as that whatsoever he lookt upon, he thought it always double, supposing (among other things) he saw two *Suns*, and two *Thebes*; insomuch that running towards *Thebes*, spying another *Thebes*, instantly turned back again, and so kept still running forward and backward with perpetual unrest.

*Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,*
*Et Solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas.*

*Pentheus* amaz'd, doth troops of Furies spie;
And *Sun*, and *Thebes* seem double to his Eye.

The first of the Fables pertains to the secrets of Princes, the second to Divine Mysteries. For those that are near about Princes, and come to the knowledge of more secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great hatred. And therefore, (suspecting that they are shot at, and opportunities watcht for their overthrow,) do lead their lives like Stags, fearful and full of suspicion. And it happens often times that there Servants, and those of their Houshold, (to insinuate

into

into the Prince's favour) do accuse them to their destruction; for against whomsoever the *Princes* displeasure is known, look how many Servants that Man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many Traytors unto him, that his end may prove to be like *Actæon*'s.

The other is the Misery of *Pentheus*: For that by the height of Knowledge and Nature in Philosophy, having climbed, as it were into a Tree, do with rash attempts (unmindful of their frailty) pry into the secrets of Divine Mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed conceits: For seeing the light of Nature is one thing, and of Grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two *Suns*. And seeing the Actions of Life, and degrees of the Will to depend on the Understanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconstant no less in Will than in Opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two *Thebes*: For by *Thebes* (seeing there was the habitation and refuge of *Pentheus*) is meant the end of Actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the scope of their intentions, are in all things carried about with sudden Passions of the Mind.

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## *ORPHEUS, or Philosophy.*

THe Tale of *Orpheus*, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every point. It may seem to represent the Image of Philosophy: For the Person of *Orpheus* (a Man admirable and divine, and so excellently skilled in all kind of harmony, that with his sweet ravishing Musick he did as it were charm and allure all things to follow him) may carry a singular description of Philosophy: For the labours

bours of *Orpheus* do so far exceed the labours of *Hercules* in dignity and efficacy, as the Works of Wisdom, excel the Works of Fortitude.

*Orpheus* for the love he bare to his Wife, snatcht, as it were, from him by untimely Death, resolved to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the Infernal Power. Neither were his hopes frustrated: For having appeased them with the melodious sound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the light of the upper World; which he (impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all danger) nevertheless violated, insomuch that the Covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into Hell. *Orpheus* falling into a deep melancholy, became a contemner of Women kind, and bequeathed himself, to a solitary life in the Desarts; where, by the same melody of his Voice and Harp, he first drew all manner of wild Beasts unto him, (who forgetful of their Savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate provocations of lust and fury, not caring to satiate their voracity by hunting after prey) as at a *Theatre* in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, standing all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their Ears to his Musick. Neither is this all; for so great was the power and alluring force of this Harmony, that he drew the Woods, and moved the very Stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him. These things succeeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain *Thracian* Women (possest with the spirit of *Bacchus*,) made such a horrid and strange noise with their Cornets, that the sound of *Orpheus*'s Harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that Harmony which was the Bond of that Order and Society being dissolved,

dissolved, all disorder began again; and the Beasts (returning to their wonted Nature) pursued one another unto Death as before: Neither did the Trees or Stones remain any longer in their places: And *Orpheus* himself was by these Female Furies torn in pieces, and scattered all over the Desert. For whose cruel Death the River *Helicon* (sacred to the Muses) in horrible indignation, hid his Head under ground, and raised it again in another place.

The meaning of this Fable seems to be thus: *Orpheus*'s Musick is of two sorts, the one appeasing the Infernal Powers, the other attracting Beasts and Trees, the first may be fitly applied to Natural Philosophy, the second to Moral or Civil Discipline.

The most noble work of Natural Philosophy, is the Restitution and Renovation of Things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the Preservation of Bodies in their Estates, detaining them from Dissolution and Putrefaction; and if this gift may be in Mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite temper of Nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an Instrument. But seeing it is of all things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other reason, more than through curious diligence and untimely impatience. And therefore Philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an effect in a pensive humour, (and that without cause) busies her self about Humane Objects, and by Persuasion and Eloquence, insinuating the love of Vertue, Equity, and Concord in the minds of Men; draws multitudes of People to a Society, makes them subjects to Laws, obedient to Government, and forgetful of their unbridled Affections, whilst they give ear to Precepts, and submit themselves to Discipline; whence follows the building of Houses, erecting of Towns, planting of Fields and Orchards, with Trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amiss to say, That even thereby Stones and Woods were

were called together and settled in order. And after serious trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a body mortal; this care of Civil affairs follows in his due place: because by a plain demonstration of the unevitable necessity of Death, Mens minds are moved to seek Eternity by the fame and glory of their Merits. It is also wisely said in the Fable, that *Orpheus* was averse from the love of Women and Marriage, because the delights of Wedlock and the love of Children do for the most part hinder Men from enterprising great and noble designs for the publick good, holding Posterity a sufficient step to Immortality without Actions.

Besides, even the very works of Wisdom (although amongst all Humane things they do most excel) do nevertheless meet with their periods. For it happens that (after Kingdoms and Commonwealths have flourished for a time) even Tumults, and Seditions, and Wars arise; in the midst of which hurly-burlies, first Laws are silent, Men return to the pravity of their Natures; Fields and Towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their fury continue Learning and Philosophy must needs by dis-membred; so that a few fragments only, and in some places will be found like the scattered Boards of Shipwrack, so as a barbarous Age must follow; and the Streams of *Helicon* being hid under the Earth, (until the Vicissitude of things passing,) they break out again, and appear in some other remote Nation, though not perhaps in the same Climate.

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## *COELUM, or Beginnings.*

WE have it from the Poets by Tradition, that *Coelum* was the Ancientest of the Gods, and that his Members of Generation were cut off by his Son *Saturn*. *Saturn* had many Children, but devoured them as soon as they were born; *Jupiter* only escap'd who being come

come to Man's estate, thrust *Saturn* his Father into Hell, and so usurped the Kingdom. Moreover he pared off his Father's Genitals with the same Faulchion that *Saturn* dismembred *Cœlum*, and cast them into the Sea; from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, (*Jupiter* being scarce setled and confirmed in this Kingdom) was invaded by two memorable Wars. The first of the *Titans*, in the suppressing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans*, Favouring *Jupiter*'s side) took exceeding great pains. The second was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himself destroyed with Thunder-bolts: And so all Wars being ended, he reigned secure.

This Fable seems enigmatically to shew from whence all things took their beginning, not much differing from that Opinion of Philosophers, which *Democritus* afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing Eternity to the first Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes somewhat near the truth of Divine Writ, telling us of a huge deformed Mass, before the beginning of the six days Work.

The meaning of the Fable is this: By *Cœlum* may be understood that vast concavity, or vaulted compass that comprehends all Matter: and by *Saturn* may be meant the Matter it self, which takes from his Parent all power of generating; for the universality or whole Bulk of Matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its Nature: But by the divers agitations and motions of it, were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing compositions of things, making as it were certain Worlds for proofs or Essays, and so in process of time a perfect Fabrick or Structure was framed, which should still retain and keep his form. And therefore the Government of the first Age was shadowed by the Kingdom of *Saturn*, who for the frequent dissolutions and short continuances of things was aptly feigned to devour his Children. The succeeding Government was decyphered by the reign of *Jupiter*, who confined

those

those continual Mutations unto *Tartarus*, a place signifying Perturbation. This place seems to be all that middle place between the lower superficies of Heaven, and the Center of the Earth: in which all Perturbations, and Fragility, and Mortality or Corruption are frequent. During the former Generation of things in the time of *Saturn*'s Reign, *Venus* was not born: for so long as in the universality of Matter, Discord was better and more prevalent than Concord, it was necessary that there should be total dissolution or mutation, and that in the whole Fabrick. And by this kind of Generation were Creatures produced before *Saturn* was deprived of his Genitals. When this ceased, that other which wrought by *Venus*, immediately came in, consisting in setled and prevalent Concord of things, so that Mutation should be only in respect of the parts, the universal Fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

*Saturn*, they say, was deposed and cast down into Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguisht, because there was an Opinion that the World should relapse into the old *Chaos* and *interregnum* again, which *Lucretius* prayed might not happen in his time:

*Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:*
*Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

Of guiding Providence be gracious,
That this Dooms-day be far remov'd from us;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us, in our times effected.

For afterwards the World should subsist by its own quantity and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest: for in the Cœlestial Regions there first followed notable Mutations, which by the power of the *Sun* (predominating over superiour Bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the World should be conserved: and afterwards (in inferior Bodies) by the suppressing

pressing and dissipating of Inundations, Tempests, Winds, and general Earthquakes, a more peaceable durable Agreement and Tranquility of things followed. But of this Fable it may convertibly be said, That the Fable contains Philosophy, and Philosophy again the Fable: For we know by Faith, that all these things are nothing else but the long since ceasing and failing Oracles of Sense, seeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are most truly referred to a Creator.

## *PROTEUS, or Matter.*

THE Poets say that *Proteus* was *Neptune*'s Herds-man: a grave Sire, and so excellent a Prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: For he knew not only things to come, but even things past as well as present; so that besides his skill in Divination, he was the Messenger and Interpreter of all Antiquities and hidden Mysteries. The place of his abode was a huge vast Cave, where his Custom was every Day at Noon to count his Flock of Sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover he that desired his advice in any thing, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of Forms and Wonders of Nature; sometimes into Fire, sometimes into Water, sometimes into the shape of Beasts, and the like; till at length he were restored to his own Form again.

This Fable may seem to unfold the secrets of Nature, and the properties of *Matter*. For under the Person of *Proteus*, the first Matter (which next to God is the Ancientest thing may be represented: For Matter dwells in the concavity of Heaven, as in a Cave.

He is *Neptune*'s bond-man, because the Operations and Dispensations of Matter are chiefly exercised in liquid Bodies. His

His Flock or Herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary *Species* of sensible Creatures, Plants and Metals, in which Matter seems to diffuse and as it were spend it self; so that after the forming and perfecting of these Kinds, (having ended as it were her Task,) she seems to sleep and take her rest, not attempting the composition of any more *Species*. And this may be the Moral of *Proteus* his counting of his Flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the Morning, nor in the Evening, but at Noon; to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of *Species* out of Matter, duly prepared and prediſpoſed, and in the middle, as it were between their beginning and declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the Holy History) to be done about the time of the Creation: For then by the power of that Divine Word (*Producat,*) *Matter* at the Creator's Command did congregate it self (not by ambages or turnings, but instantly) to the production of its Work into an Act and constitution of *Species*. And thus far have we the Narration of *Proteus* (free and unrestrained, together with his Flock compleat: for the universality of Things, with their ordinary Structures and Compositions of *Species*, bears the Face of Matter, not limited and constrained, and of the Flock also of Material Beings. Nevertheless if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with intent and purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrariwise (seeing annihilation and absolute destruction cannot be effected by the Omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of necessity, doth change and turn her self into divers strange Forms and Shapes of things, so that at length (by fetching a circuit as it were) she comes to a period, and (if the force continue) betakes her self to her former being. The reason of which constraint or binding, will be more fa-

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cile and expedite, if matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, Extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that *Proteus* was a Prophet, well skilled in three differences of Times, it hath an excellent Agreement with the Nature of Matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the Properties and Proceedings of Matter, should comprehend in his Understanding the sum of all things, which have been, which are, or which shall be, although no Knowledge can extend so far as to singular, and individual Beings.

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## *MEMNON, or a Youth too forward.*

THe Poets say, that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, who (adorned with beautiful Armour, and animated with popular Applause,) came to the *Trojan War*; where (in rash Boldness; hasting unto, and thirsting after Glory,) he enters into single Combat with *Achilles*, the valiantest of all the *Gracians*, by whose powerful hand he was there slain. But *Jupiter* pitying his destruction, sent Birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful Notes at the Solemnization of his Funeral Obsequies. Whose Statue also (the Sun reflecting on it with his Morning Beams) did usually, as is reported send forth a mournful Sound.

This Fable may be applied to the unfortunate destinies of hopeful young Men, who like the Sons of *Aurora*, (puffed up with the glittering shew of vanity, and ostentation,) attempt actions above their strength, and provoke, and press the most valiant *Heroes* to combate with them; so that (meeting with their overmatch) they are vanquished, and destroyed: whose untimely Death is oft accompanied with much pity and commiseration. For among all the Disasters that can happen to Mortals, there is none so lamentable,

and ſo powerful to move compaſſion, as the flower of Vertue cropt with too ſudden a Miſchance. Neither hath it been often known that Men in their green years become ſo loathſome, and odious, as that at their Deaths either Sorrow is ſtinted, or Commiſeration moderated; but that Lamentation and Mourning do not only flutter about their Obſequies, like thoſe Funeral Birds; but this pitiful Commiſeration doth continue for a long ſpace, and ſpecially by Occaſions, and new Motions, and beginning of great Matters, as it were by the Morning-Rays of the *Sun*, their Paſſions and Deſires are renewed.

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## *TITHONUS, or Satiety.*

IT is elegantly feigned, that *Tithonus* was the Paramour of *Aurora*, who (deſirous to enjoy his Company) petitioned *Jupiter* that he might never die; but (through Womaniſh overſight) forgetting to inſert this clauſe in her Petition, that he might not withal grow old, and feeble; it followed that he was only freed from the condition of Mortality; but for old Age, that came upon him in a marvellous, and miſerable faſhion, agreeable to the ſtate of thoſe who cannot die, yet every day grow weaker and weaker with Age: Inſomuch that *Jupiter* (in commiſeration of that his Miſery,) did at length metamorphoſe him into a Graſs-hopper.

This Fable ſeems to be an ingenious Character, or Deſcription of Pleaſure, which in the beginning, and as it were, in the morning, ſeems to be pleaſant and delightful, that men deſire they might enjoy, and monopolize it for ever unto themſelves, unmindful of that Satiety, and Loathing, which like old age,) will come upon them before they be aware. And ſo at laſt, (when the uſe of Pleaſure leaves Men, the Deſire and

and Affection not yet yielding unto Death,) it comes to pass that Men please themselves only by talking, and commemorating those things which brought pleasure unto them in the flower of their Age, which may be observed in libidinous Persons, and also in Men of Military Professions; the one delighting in beastly Talk, the other boasting of their valorous Deeds, like Grass-hoppers, whose Vigour consists only in their Voice.

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## *JUNO'S SUITOR, or Baseness.*

THe Poets say, that *Jupiter*, to enjoy his lustful Delights, took upon him the shape of sundry Creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a Golden Shower; but being a Suitor to *Juno*, he came in a Form most ignoble and base, an Object full of contempt and scorn, resembling indeed a miserable *Cuckow* weather beaten with Rain and Tempest, numb'd, quaking, and half dead with Cold.

This Fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the Bowels of Morality; the sense of it being this, That Men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by ostentation of their own worth, to insinuate themselves into estimation and favour with Men. The success of such intentions being for the most part measured by the nature and disposition of those to whom Men sue for Grace; who, if of themselves they be endowed with no Gifts and Ornaments of Nature, but are only of haughty and malignant Spirits, (intimated by the person of *Juno*,) then are Suitors to know that it is good policy to omit all kind of appearance that may any way shew their own least Praise or worth and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other course. Neither is it enough to shew deformity

in Obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very Persons.

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## *CUPID, or an Atom.*

THat which the Poets say of *Cupid*, or *Love*, cannot properly be attributed to one and the self same Person; and yet the difference is such, that (by rejecting the Confusion of Persons,) the Similitude may be received.

They say, that *Love* is the ancientest of all the Gods, and of all things else except *Chaos*, which they hold to be a Contemporary with it. Now as touching *Chaos*, that by the Ancients was never dignified with Divine Honour, or with the Title of the God. And as for *Love*, they absolutely bring him in without a Father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an Egg that was laid by *Nox*, and that on *Chaos* he begat the God, and all things else. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual Infancy, Blindness, Nakedness, and an Archery. There was also another *Love*, which was the youngest of the Gods, and he, they say, was the Son of *Venus*. On this also they bestow the Attributes of the elder *Love*, as in some sort we'll apply unto him.

This Fable tends, and looks to the Cradle of *Nature* *Love* seeming to be the appetite or desire of the first Matter, or (to speak more plain) the natural motion of the *Atom*, which is that Ancient and only Power that Forms and Fashions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to say, no Cause, seeing every Cause is as a Parent to its effect. Of this power or virtue there can be no Cause in Nature (as for *God*, we always except him,) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient Cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to Nature, and therefore neither

ther *Genus* nor *Form*. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any Cause, seeing that (next unto God,) it is the Cause of Causes, it self only without any Cause. And perchance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of humane search. Not without reason therefore it is feign'd to come of an Egg which was laid by *Nox*. *Certainly* the Divine Philosopher grants so much.

Eccl. 3. 11 *Cuncta fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, & mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus principio ad finem.* That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their Seasons, also he hath set the World in their Meditations; yet Man cannot find the Work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end: For the principal Law of Nature, or Power of this Desire, created (by God,) in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, (from whose Repetitions and Multiplications all Variety of Creatures proceeded, and were composed,) may dazle the Eyes of Men's Understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The *Greek* Philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material Principles of things; but in the beginnings of motion (wherein consists all the efficacy of operation,) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind, and stammering; for the Opinion of the *Peripateticks* concerning the appetite of Matter, caused by privation, is in a manner nothing else but Words, which rather sound, than signifie any Reality. And those that refer it unto God, do very well; but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees; for doubtless there is one chief Law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the force-cited Scripture is demonstrated in these

Words, *Opus quod operatus est Deus à principio usque ad finem*; the Work that God hath wrought from the beginning even to the end. But *Democritus*, which entred more deeply into the consideration of this point, after he had conceived an *Atom*, with some small dimension and form, he attributed unto it one only desire, or first motion, simply, or absolutely, and another comparatively, or in respect; for he thought that all things did properly tend to the Centre of the World, whereof those Bodies which were more material, descend with swifter motion, and those that had less Matter, did, on the contrary, tend upward. But this Meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient; for neither the turning of the Celestial Bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things, may seem to be reduced or applied to this beginning. And as for that opinion of *Epicurus*, concerning the casual declination and agitation of the *Atom*, it is but a mere Toy, and a plain evidence, that he was ignorant of that Point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wish,) that this *Cupid*, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of *Night*. Now as concerning his Attributes; He is elegantly described with perpetual Infancy, or Childhood; because compound Bodies they seem greater, and more stricken in years: Whereas the first Seeds of things, or *Atoms*, they are little, and diminute, and also in their Infancy.

He is also well feigned to be naked, because all compound Bodies, to a Man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and cloathed, and nothing to be properly naked but the first Particles of things.

Concerning his Blindess, the Allegory is full of Wisdom; for this *Love*, or Desire (whatsoever it be) seems to have but little Providence, as directing his pace and motion by that which it perceives neareſt; not unlike blind men that go by feeling: More admirable then, must that chief divine Providence be, which (from things empty and destitute of Providence, and

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as it were, blind,) by a constant and fatal Law, produceth so excellent an Order and Beauty of Things.

The last thing which is attributed to *Love*, is *Archery*; by which is meant, that his Virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant Object; because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an Arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the Being both of *Atoms* and *Vacuity*, must needs infer, that the Virtue of the *Atom* reacheth to a distant Object; for if it were not so, there could be no motion at all, by reason of the interposition of *Vacuity*; but all things would stand stone still, and remain immoveable.

Now as touching that other *Cupid* or *Love*, he may well be termed the youngest of the Gods, because he could have no being before the constitution of *Species*. And in his description the Allegory may be applied and traduced to manners: Nevertheless he holds some kind of conformity with the Elder; for *Venus* doth generally stir up a desire of Conjunction and Procreation, and *Cupid* her Son doth apply this desire to some individual Nature; so that the general disposition comes from *Venus*, the more exact sympathy from *Cupid*: the one derived from Causes more near, the other from Beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder *Cupid*, of whom every exquisite sympathy doth depend.

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## *DIOMEDES, or Zeal.*

*DIOMEDES* flourishing with great Fame and Glory in the *Trojan* Wars, and in high Favour with *Pallas*, was by her instigated (being indeed forwarder than he should have been) not to forbear *Venus* a jot, if he encountred with her in Fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right Arm. This presumptuous Fact he carried clear for a

while, and being honoured and renowned for his many heroick Deeds, at last returned into his own Country, where finding himself hard bestead with domestick Troubles, fled into *Italy*, betaking himself to the Protection of Foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertained by King *Daunus* with sumptuous Gifts, raising many Statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very first Calamity that hapned unto this Nation, whereunto he was fled for Succour, King *Daunus* enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertained a wicked Guest into his Family, and a Man odious to the Goddess, and an Impugner of there Divinity, that had dared, with his Sword, to assault and wound that Goddess, who in their Religion, they held it Sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Countrey's Guilt, (nothing respecting the Duties of Hospitality, when the Bonds of Religion tied him with a more reverent regard) suddenly slew *Diomedes*, commanding withal that his Trophies and Statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable Destiny; but even his Companions in Arms, whilst they mourned at the Funeral of their Captain, and filled all the places with Plaints and Lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into Birds like unto Swans, who, when their Death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful Hymns.

This Fable hath a most rare and singular Subject: For in any of the Poetical Records, wherein the *Heroes* are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides *Diomedes*, did ever with his Sword offer Violence to any of the *Deities*. And indeed, the Fable seems in him to represent the nature and fortune of Man, who of himself, doth propound, and make this as the end of all his Actions, to worship some Divine Power, or to follow some Sect of Religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with Force and Arms to defend

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the same: For although those bloody Quarrels for Religion were unknown to the Ancients,(the Heathen Gods not having so much as a touch of that Jealousie, which is an Attribute of the true God,) yet the Wisdom of the Antient Times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by Experience, was yet comprehended by Meditations and Fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any Sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the Person of *Venus*,) not by the force of Argument and Doctrine, and Holiness of Life, and by the weight of Examples and Authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by Fire and Sword, and Tortures, are encouraged, it may be, thereunto by *Pallas*; that is, by the Acrity of *Prudence*, and Severity of Judgment, by whose Vigour and Efficacy, they see into the Falsity and Vanity of these Errors. And by this there hatred of Pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchase to themselves great Glory, and by the Vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are esteemed and honoured as the only Supporters of Truth and Religion, when others seem to be luke-warm and full of Fear. Yet this Glory and Happiness doth seldom endure to the end, seeing every violent Prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely Death grows to be unprosperous at last: For if it happen that by a change of Government, this banished and depressed Sect get strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous Men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very Names are hateful, and all their Glory ends in Obloquy.

In that *Diomedes* is said to be murthered by his Host, it gives us to understand that the difference of Religion breeds Deceit and Treachery, even among neerest Acquaintance.

Now in that Lamentation and Mourning was not tolerable but punished; it puts us in mind, that let there be never so nefarious an Act done, yet there is

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some place left for Commiseration and Pity, that even those that hate Offences, should yet in Humanity commiserate Offenders, and Pity their distress, it being the Extremity of Evil when Mercy is not suffered to have commerce with Misery. Yea, even in the cause as well of Religion as Impiety, many Men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the complaints and moans of *Diomedes*'s Followers, that is, of Men of the same Sect and Opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like Swans or the Birds of *Diomedes*. In whom also that part of the Allegory is excellent to signifie that the last Words of those that suffer Death for Religion, like the Songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the Minds of Men, and strike and remain a long time in their Senses and Memories.

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## *DÆDALUS, or Mechanick.*

MEchanical Wisdom and Industry, and in it unlawful Science perverted to wrong ends, is shadowed by the Ancients under the Person of *Dædalus*, a Man ingenious, but execrable. This *Dædalus* (for murthering his fellow-servant that emulated him) being banished, was kindly entertained (during his Exile) in many Cities and Princes Courts: For indeed he was the Raiser and Builder of many goodly Structures, as well in honour of the Gods, as the Beauty and Magnificence of Cities, and other publick places, but for his Works of Mischief he is most notorious It is he that framed the Engine which *Pasiphae* used to satisfie her Lust in company with a Bull; so that by his wretched Industry, and pernicious Device, that Monster *Minotaur* (the destruction of so many hopeful Youths) took his accursed and infamous beginning, and studying to cover and increase one Mischief

chief with another; for the security and preservation of this Monster he invented and built a Labyrinth, a work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for Skill and Workmanship famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for Works of Mischief, but be sought after as well for Remedies, as for Instruments of Destruction, he was the Author of that ingenious device concerning the Clew of Thread, by which the Labyrinth was made passable without any let. This *Dædalus* was persecuted by *Minos* with great Severity, Diligence, and Inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his Tyranny. Lastly, he taught his Son *Icarus* to fly; but the Novice, in Ostentation of this Art, soaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable seems to be thus: In the beginning of it may be noted that kind of Envy or Emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent Artificers, there being no kind of People more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly Hatred than they.

The Banishment also of *Dædalus* (a punishment inflicted on him against the Rules of Policy and Providence) is worth the noting: For Artificers have this Prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all Countries, so that Exile to an excellent Workman can hardly be termed a punishment, whereas other Conditions and States of Life can scarce live out of their own Country. The admiration of Artificers is propagated and increased in foreign and strange Nation, seeing it is a natural and unbred disposition of Men to value their own Countrey-men (in respect of Mechanical Works) less than Strangers.

Concerning the use of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The Life of Man is much beholden to them, seeing many things (conducing to the Ornament of Religion, to the Grace of Civil Discipline, and to the beautifying of all Humane Kind) are extracted

tracted out of their Treasuries: And yet notwithstanding from the same *Magazine* or Store-house are produced Instruments both of Lust and Death; for to omit the Wiles of Bands, we will know how far exquisite Poysons, Warlike Engines, and such like Mischiefs (the effects of Mechanical Inventions) do exceed the *Minotaur* himself in Malignity and savage Cruelty.

Moreover that of the *Labyrinth* is an excellent Allegory, whereby is shadowed the nature of Mechanical Sciences; for all such handicraft Works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a Labyrinth in respect of Subtility and divers intricate Passages, and in other plain resemblances, which by the Eye of Judgment can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the Line of Experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate Nooks of the Labyrinth, did also shew the Commodity of the Clew: For Mechanical Arts are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for Remedy, and they have in a manner Power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful Trades, and so by consequence, Arts themselves are often persecuted by *Minos*, that is by Laws, which do condemn them, and prohibit Men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking holes and places of Receipt, which was well observed by *Tacitus* of the Mathematicians and Figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike; *Genus Hominum quod in Civitate nostra semper & retinebitur & vetabitur.* There is a kind of Men that will always abide in our City, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious Arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good Opinion that was held of them, (no otherwise than *Icarus* fell down from the Skies,) they grow to be-contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much Ostentation. And to say the Truth,

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they are not so happily restrained by the Reins of Law, as bewrayed by their own Vanity.

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## *ERICTHONIUS, or Imposture.*

THe Poets Fable that *Vulcan* solicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed desire offered her violence, but in struggling his seed fell upon the Ground, whereof came *Erichonius*, whose Body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt proportion, but his Thighs and Legs like the tail of an Eel, small and deformed. To which Monstrosity he being conscious, became the first inventor of the use of Chariots, whereby that part of his Body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious Fiction may seem to shew that Art which (for the great use it hath of Fire) is shadowed by *Vulcan*, although it labour by much striving with corporeal substances to force Nature, and to make her subject to it, (she being for her industrious Works rightly represented by *Minerva*;) yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great pains (wrestling as it were with her) comes short of its purpose, and produceth certain imperfect Births and lame Works, fair to the Eye, but weak and defective in use, which many Impostors (whith much subtilty and deceit) set to view, and carry about, as it were in triumph, as may for the most part be noted in Chymical productions, and other Mechanical subtilties and novelties, especially when (rather Persecuting their intent, that reclining their Errors) they rather strive to overcome Nature by force, than sue for her Embracements by due obsequiousness and observance.

*DEUCALION,*

## *DEUCALION, or Restitution.*

THe Poets say, that (the People of the Old World being destroyed by a general Deluge) *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous devotion, that they might know by what means to repair Mankind, had answer from an Oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the Bones of their Mother they cast them behind their Backs; which at first struck them with great amazement and despair, seeing (all things being defaced by the Flood) it would be an endless work to find their Mothers Sepulchre, but at length they understood that by Bones the Stones of the Earth (seeing the Earth was the Mother of all things) were signified by the Oracle.

This Fable seems to reveal a secret of Nature, and to correct an error familiar to Men's conceits: For through want of knowledge Men think that things may take renovation and restauration from their putrefaction and dregs, no otherwise than the *Phœnix* from the Ashes, which in no case can be admitted seeing such kind of Materials, when they have fulfilled, their periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: We must therefore look back to more common Principles.

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## *NEMESIS, or the Vicissitude of things.*

*NEMESIS* is said to be a Goddess venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but Potentates and Fortunes favourites. She is thought to be the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nox*. She is pourtraicted with Wings on her Shoulders, and on her Head a Coronet; bearing

ing in her Right Hand a Javelin of *Ash*, and in her left a Pitcher with the similitudes of *Æthiopians* engraven on it; and lastly, she is described sitting on an Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfolded. Her name *Nemesis* doth plainly signifie Revenge or Retribution, her office and administration being (like a Tribune of the People) to hinder the constant and perpetual felicity of happy Men and to interpose her word, *veto*, I forbid the continuance of it; that is, not only to chastise Insolency, but to intermix prosperity (though harmless and in a mean) with the Vicissitudes of adversity, as if it were a custom, that no mortal Man should be admitted to the Table of the Gods but for sport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his misfortunes and miseries of *Augustus Cæsar*, whom of all Men I thought the most happy, who had also a kind of Art to use and enjoy his Fortune, and in whose mind might be noted neither pride, nor lightness, nor niceness, nor disorder, nor melancholy, (as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord,) I then deemed this Goddess to be great and powerful, to whose Altar so worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddess were *Oceanus* and *Nox*, that is, the Vicissitude of things and Divine Judgment obscure and secret: For the alteration of things are aptly represented by the Sea, in respect of the continual Ebbing and Flowing of it, and hidden Providence is well set forth by the Night: For even the Nocturnal *Nemesis* (seeing Humane judgment differs much from Divine) was seriously observed by the Heathen.

Virgil Æneid. lib. 2.

——*Cadit & Ripheus justissimus unus,*
*Qui fuit ex Teucris, & servantissimus æqui.*
*Diis aliter visum*——

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That day, by *Greekish* force, was *Ripheus* slain
So just and strict observer of the Law,
As *Troy* within her Walls, did not contain
A better Man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with Wings, because the changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen before foreseen: For in the Records of all Ages, we find it for the most part true, that great Potentates, and wise Men, have perished by those misfortunes which they most contemned; as may be observed in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admonished by *Decius Brutus* of *Octavius Cæsar*'s hypocritical friendship and hollow-heartedness towards him, returns this answer, *Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debeo, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti:* I must ever acknowledge my self (Dear *Brutus*) beholden to thee, in love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless trifle to be doubted.

*Nemesis* is also adorned with a Coronet, to shew the envious and malignant dispositon of the vulgar, for when Fortunes Favourites and great Potentates come to ruine, then do the common People rejoyce, setting, as it were, a Crown upon the head of Revenge.

The Javelin in her right hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth through.

And before those, whom she destroys not in their calamity and misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismal spectacle in her left hand: for questionless to Men sitting as it were upon the Pinacle of Prosperity, the thoughts of Death and painfulness of sickness and misfortunes, perfidiousness of Friends, treachery of Foes, change of Estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the Eye of their Meditations, as those *Æthiopians* pictured in *Nemesis* her Pitcher. *Virgil* in describing the Battle of *Actium*, speaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

*Regina*

*Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro*
*Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.*

The Queen amid'st this hurly-burly stands,
And with her Countrey Timbrel calls her Bands;
Not spying yet, where crawl'd behind her Back,
Two deadly Snakes with Venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way soever she turned, Troops of *Æthiopians* were still before her Eyes.

Lastly, It is wisely added, That *Nemesis* rides upon an *Hart*, because a *Hart* is a most lively Creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by Death in their Youth prevent and shun the power of *Nemesis*; yet doubtless such, whose prosperity and power continue long, are made subject unto her, and lie as it were trodden under her Feet.

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## *ACHELOUS, or, Battle.*

IT is a Fable of Antiquity, that when *Hercules* and *Achelous* as Rivals contended for the Marriage of *Deianira*, the matter drew them to combate, wherein *Achelous* took upon him many divers shapes, for so was it in his power to do, and amongst others, transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wild Bull, assaults *Hercules* and provokes him to fight. But *Hercules*, for all this, sticking to his old Humane Form, courageously encounters him, and so the Combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, That *Hercules* tore away one of the Bull's Horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransome his Horn again, was contented to give *Hercules*, in exchange thereof, the *Amalthean* Horn, or *Cornu-Copiæ*.

This Fable hath relation unto the Expeditions of War, for the Preparations thereof on the defensive part (which expresst in the Person of *Achelous*) is very diverse and uncertain. But the invading Party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an Army by Land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territory, expects an Enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he assembles Men out of the Countreys and Villages, he raiseth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he disposeth Garrisons, and placeth Troops of Soldiers on Passages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and Ambushes in Woods, and is busied with a multitude of other Directions, insomuch, that every day he prescribeth new Forms and Orders; and then at last having accommodated all things compleat for defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other side, the Invader his greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for Victuals in an Enemy-Country; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on Battle: For if it should happen, that after a Field-fight, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the Horn of the Enemy, then certainly this follows, that his Enemy being stricken with Terror, and abased in his Reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some strong hold, abandoning to the Conqueror the spoil and sack of his Country and Cities: which may well be termed a Type of the *Amalthean* Horn.

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## *DIONYSUS, or Passions.*

THEY say that *Semele*, *Jupiter*'s Sweet-heart, (having bound her Paramour, by an irrevocable Oath, to grant her one Request which she would require) desired that he would accompany her in the same

same form wherein he accompanied *Juno*: Which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to pass, that the miserable Wench was burnt with Lightning. But the Infant which she bare in her Womb, *Jupiter*, the Father, took out, and kept it in a gash which he cut in his Thigh, till the Months were compleat that it should be born. This burthen made *Jupiter* somewhat to limp, whereupon the Child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its Father while it lay in his Thigh) was called *Dionysius*. Being born, it was committed to *Proserpina* for some years to be Nurst, and being grown up, it had such a Maiden face, as that a Man could hardly judge whether it were a Boy or Girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived: Being but a Youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of Vines, the making also, and use of Wine; for, which becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the World, even to the uttermost bounds of *India*. He rode in a chariot drawn with Tygers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins called *Cohali*. *Acratus*, and others, yea, even the Muses also were some of his Followers. He took to Wife *Ariadne*, forsaken and left by *Theseus*. The Tree sacred unto him was the *Ivy*. He was held the Inventor and Institutor of Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, and full of Corruption and Cruelty. He had power to strike Men with fury and madness; for it is reported, That at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous Worthies, *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, were torn in pieces by certain frantick Women, the one because he got upon a Tree to behold their Ceremonies in these Sacrifices; the other for making melody with his Harp: and for his Gods, they are in a manner the same with *Jupiter*'s.

There is such excellent morality coucht in this Fable, as that Moral Philosophy affords not better; for under the Person of *Bacchus* is described the nature of Affection, Passion, or Perturbation, the Mother of which (though never so hurtful) is nothing else but the Ob-

ject of apparent good in the Eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful desire, rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth. Nevertheless (whil'st yet it is an imperfect *Embriy*) it is nourished and preserved in the Humane Soul, (which is at it were a Father unto it, and represented by *Jupiter*,) but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a Thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindred and lamed thereby; and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with *Proserpina*, as with a Nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, Caves under Ground, until (the Reins of Shame and Fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness) it either takes the pretext of some Vertue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement Passion is of a doubtfull Sex, as being Masculine in the first Motion, but Feminine in Prosecution.

It is an excellent Fiction that of *Bacchus* his reviving; for Passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed, no, though they lay, as it were, in their Grave; for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings nourishment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to Men, Wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle Passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common Nurse to them all.

Again,

Again, his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite Expeditions is an elegant device; for Desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable Appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot also is well said to be drawn by Tygers; for as soon as any affection shall from going a foot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and shall captivate reason, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous Hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his Chariot; for every Passion doth cause, in the Eyes, Face and Gesture, certain undecent, and ill-seeming, apish, and deformed motions; so that they who in any kind of Passion, as in anger, arrogancy, or love, seem glorious and brave in their own Eyes, do yet appear to others mishapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothed by some Art, wherein the indulgence of Wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who (when they ought to be the Mistress of Life) are made the Waiting-maids, of affections.

Again, where *Bacchus* is said to have loved *Ariadne*, that was rejected by *Theseus*; it is an Allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that Passions, always covet and desire that which Experience forsakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their Lust) that whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers Men, in all ages after experience had utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a Mystery, that the *Ivy* was sacred to *Bacchus*; for the Application holds, First, In that the *Ivy* remains green in Winter. Secondly, In

that it sticks to, embraceth, and overtoppeth so many divers Bodies, as Trees, Walls, and Edifices. Touching the first, every Passion doth by resistance and reluctation, and as it were by *Antiperistasis* (like the *Ivy* of the cold Winter,) grow fresh and lusty. And as for the other, every predominate Affection doth again (like the *Ivy*) embrance and limit all Humane Actions and Determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious Rites and Ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, seeing every giddy headed humour keeps in a manner Revel-rout in false Religions; or that the cause of Madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by Nature a short fury, which (if it grows vehement, and become habitual) concludes in madness.

Concerning the rending and dismembring of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the Parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry, and wholsome and free admonition.

Lastly, That confusion of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, their Persons may be well transferred to a Parable, seeing noble and famous Acts, and remarkable and glorious Merits, do sometimes proceed from Vertue, and well ordered Reason and Magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret Affection, and hidden Passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of Fame and Glory, that a Man can hardly distinguish between the Acts of *Bacchus*, and the Gests of *Jupiter*.

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## *ATALANTA, or Gain.*

*ATALANTA*, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge *Hippomenes* at a match in running. The conditions of the prize were these:

theſe: That if *Hippomenes* won the Race, he ſhould eſpouſe *Atalanta*; if he were out-run, that then he ſhould forfeit his Life. And in the Opinion of all, the victory was thought aſſured of *Atalanta*'s ſide, being famous, as ſhe was, for her matchleſs and inconquerable ſpeed, whereby ſhe had been the bane of many. *Hippomenes* therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a trick, and in that regard provides three Golden Apples or Balls, which he purpoſely carried about him. The Race is begun, and *Atalanta* gets a good ſtart before him. He ſeeing himſelf thus caſt behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his Golden Balls before her, and yet not outright, but ſomewhat of the one ſide, both to make her linger and alſo to draw her out of the right courſe: She, out of a Womaniſh deſire, (being thus enticed with the beauty of the Golden Apple) leaving her direct Race runs aſide, and ſtoops to catch the Ball, *Hippomenes* the while holds on his courſe, getting thereby a great ſtart, and leaves her behind him: But ſhe by her own natural ſwiftneſs, recovers her loſt time, and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* ſtill continues his ſleight, and both the ſecond and third times caſt out his Balls, thoſe inticing delays; and ſo by craft, and not by his activity, wins the Race and Victory.

This Fable ſeems Allegorically to demonſtrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature; for Art (ſignified by *Atalanta*) in its work (if it be not letted and hindred) is far more ſwift than Nature, more ſpeedy in pace, and ſooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifeſt almoſt in every effect: As you may ſee it in Fruit-trees, whereof thoſe that grow of a Kernel are long e're they bear, but ſuch as are grafted on a Stock a great deal ſooner. You may ſee it in Clay, which in the generation of Stones, is long e're it become hard; but in the burning of Bricks, is very quickly effected. Alſo in Moral Paſſages you may obſerve, that it is a long time e're (by the benefit of

Nature) sorrow can be asswaged, and comfort attained; whereas Philosophy (which is, as it were, Art of Living) tarries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly, and out of hand; and yet this Prerogative and singular agility of Art is hindred by certain Golden Apples to the infinite prejudice of Humane proceedings: For there is not any one *Art* or *Science* which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course, till it comes to the proposed End or Mark; but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings, leaves the Race, and turns aside to Profit and Commodity, like *Atalanta*.

*Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.*

Who doth her course forsake,
The Rolling Gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art and not the power to conquer Nature, and by Pact or Law of Conquest, to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary it falls out, that Art becomes subject to Nature, and yields the Obedience, as a Wife the Husband.

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## *PROMETHEUS, or the State of Man.*

THE Ancients deliver, that *Prometheus* made a Man of Clay, mixt with certain parcels taken from divers Animals, who studying to maintain this his Work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but Propagator of Humane kind) stole up to Heaven with a bundle of Twigs, which he kindled at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with Men: and yet they say, (That notwithstanding this excellent work of his,) he was requited with Ingratitude, in a treacherous Conspiracy:

cy: For they accused both him and his Invention to *Jupiter*, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the Information was pleasing to *Jupiter*, and all the Gods. And therefore in a merry Mood, granted unto Men, not only the use of Fire, but perpetual youth also, a Boon most acceptable and desirable. They being, as it were, over-joyed, did foolishly lay this Gift of the Gods upon the back of an Ass, who being wonderfully oppress'd with Thirst, and near a Fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the custody thereof) that he should not drink, unless he would promise to give him the Burthen that was on his Back. The silly Ass accepted the condition, and so the restauration of Youth (sold for a draught of Water) past from Men to Serpents. But *Prometheus* full of Malice, being reconciled unto Men, after they were frustrated of their Gift, but in a Chafe yet with *Jupiter*, feared not to use deceit in Sacrifice: For having killed two Bulls, and in one of their Hides wrapp'd up the Flesh and Fat of them both, and in the other only the Bones, with a great shew of Religious Devotion, gave *Jupiter* his choice, who (detesting his Fraud and Hypocrisie, but taking an occasion of Revenge) chose that which was stopp'd with Bones, and so turning to Revenge (when he saw that the Insolency of *Prometheus* would not be represented, but by laying some grievous Affliction upon Mankind, in the forming of which, he so much bragged and boasted) commanded *Vulcan* to frame a goodly beautiful Woman, which being done, every one of the Gods bestowed a Gift on her; whereupon she was called *Pandora*. To this Woman they gave, in her hand, a goodly Box full of all Miseries and Calamities, only in the bottom of it they put *Hope*; with this Box she comes first to *Prometheus*, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it: which he nevertheless, with good Providence and Foresight refused. Whereupon she goes to *Epimetheus* (who, though

though Brother to *Prometheus*, yet was of a much differing Disposition) and offers this Box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of Miseries came fluttering about his Ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapt on the Cover, and so with much ado retained *Hope* sitting alone in the bottom; at last *Jupiter* laying many and grievous Crimes to *Prometheus* his charge (as that he had stoln Fire from Heaven, that in contempt of his Majesty, he sacrificed a Bull's Hide stuff'd with Bones, that he scornfully rejected his Gift, and besides all this that he offered violence to *Pallas*) cast him into Chains, and doom'd him to perpetual Torment: and by *Jupiter*'s Command, was brought to the Mountain *Caucasus*, and there bound fast to a Pillar that he could not stir; there came an Eagle also, that every day sat tyring upon his Liver and wasted it, but as much as was eaten in the day, grew again in the Night, that Matter for Torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they say there was an end of this Punishment. For *Hercules* crossing the Ocean in a Cup, which the Sun gave him, came to *Caucasus*, and set *Prometheus* at liberty, by shooting the Eagle with an Arrow. Moreover in some Nations there were instituted in the honours of *Prometheus*, certain Games of Lamp-bearers, in which they that strived for the Prize, were wont to carry Torches lighted; which who so suffered to go out, yielded the Place and Victory to those that followed, and so cast back themselves; so that whosoever came first to the Mark with his Torch burning, got the Prize.

This Fable demonstrates and presseth many true and grave Speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touch'd.

*Prometheus* doth clearly and elegantly signifie *Providence:* For in the Universality of Nature, the Fabrick and Constitution of Man only was by the Ancients

pick'd

pick'd out and chosen, and attributed unto *Providence*, as a peculiar Work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the Nature of Man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the Seat of *Providence*; and therefore it would seem strange and incredible, that the reason and mind should so proceed and flow from dumb and deaf Principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the Soul of Man to be endued with Providence, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater Providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were the Centre of the World, in respect of final Causes, so that if Man were not in Nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered Branches (as they say) without inclinations to their end: For all things attend on Man, and he makes use of, and gathers Fruit from all Creatures: For the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the distinctions of Times, and the distribution of the World's sight. *Meteors* also are referred to presages of Tempests; and Winds are ordained, as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills, and other Engines: And Plants, and Animals of what kind soever, are useful either for Men's Houses, and places of shelter, or for Rayment, or for Food, or Medicine, or for ease of Labour, or in a word, for delight and solace; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves, but for Man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain Particles were taken from divers living Creatures, and mix'd and tempered with that clayey Mass, because it is most true that of all things comprehended within the compass of the Universe, Man is a thing most mix'd and compounded, insomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, a little World; for although the *Chymicks* do, with too much Curiosity, take and wrest the elegancy of this Word (*Microcosm*) to the Letter, contending to find in Man all Minerals, all Vegetables and the rest, or any thing that holds proportion

tion with them; yet this propoſition remains ſound and whole, that the Body of Man, of all material Beings is found to be moſt compounded, and moſt organical, whereby it is endued and furniſhed with moſt admirable Vertues and Faculties. And as for ſimple Bodies, their Powers are not many, though certain and violent, as exiſting without being weakned, diminiſhed or ſtinted by mixture; for the multiplicity and excellency of Operation have their reſidence in mixture and compoſition, and yet nevertheleſs, Man in his Originals ſeems to be a thing unarmed, and naked, and unable to help it ſelf, as needing the aid of many things; therefore *Prometheus* made haſte to find out Fire, which ſuppeditates and yields comfort and help in a manner, to all humane Wants and Neceſſities: ſo that if the Soul be the Form of Forms, and if the Hand be the Inſtrument of Inſtruments; Fire deſerves well to be called the Succour of Succours, or the Help of Helps, which infinite ways affords aid and aſſiſtance to all Labours and Mechanical Arts, and to the Sciences themſelves.

The manner of ſtealing this fire is aptly deſcribed, even from the nature of things: It was, they ſay, by a bundle of Twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: For twigs are uſed in giving blows or Stripes, to ſignifie clearly, that fire is engendred by the violent percuſſion and mutual colliſion of Bodies, by which their material Subſtances are attenuated and ſet in Motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the Heavenly Bodies; and ſo in a clandeſtine manner, and as it were by ſtealth, may be ſaid to take and ſnatch Fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the Parable, that Men inſtead of Gratulation and Thankſgiving, were angry, and expoſtulated the Matter with *Prometheus*, inſomuch that they accuſed both him and his Invention unto *Jupiter*, which was ſo acceptable to him, that he augmented their former Commodities with a new Bounty. Seems it not ſtrange, that Ingratitude towards

towards the Author of a Benefit (a Vice that in a manner contains all other Vices) should find such Approbation and Reward? No, it seems to be otherwise: For the meaning of the Allegory is this, that Men's out-cries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the Mind, and turn to their good, whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the Gods, and redounds not so much to their Profit: For they that infinitely extol Humane Nature, or the knowledge they possess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those Sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little Reverence to the divine Nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own Defects with God's Perfection: Again, they are wonderfully injurious to Men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, (resting themselves contented) seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring Nature and Art to the Bar with Accusations, and Bills of Complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate Judgments: For they are ever in Action, seeking always to find out new Inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate Dispositions of some Men, who (making themselves Bond-slaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philosophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a Portion of *Gærcian* Wisdom, and that but a small one neither) in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious, and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it. I approve rather of *Empedocles* his Opinion (who like a Mad-man, and of *Democritus* his Judgment, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a Mist) that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that Truth was drowned in the depths of Obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermix'd with true (as for the new Academy that exceeded all measure) than of the confident

fident and pronunciative School of *Aristotle*. Let Men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the Imperfection of Nature and Art, they are grateful to the Gods, and shall thereby obtain new Benefits and greater Favours at their bountiful Hands, and the Accusation of *Prometheus* their Author and Master (though bitter and vehement) will conduce more to their Profit, than to the effuse in the congratulation of his Invention: For in a Word the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest Causes of having too little.

Now as touching the kind of Gift which Men are said to have received in reward of their Accusation (to wit, an ever-fading Flower of Youth) it is to shew, that the Ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the skill by Means and Medicines, to put off Old Age, and to prolong Life, but this to be numbred rather among such things (having been once happily attained unto) are now through Men's Negligence and Carelesness, utterly perished and lost; than among such as have been always denied and never granted: For they signifie and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern accusation and conviction of the Errors of Art, the Divine Bounty is not wanting unto Men in the obtaining of such Gifts, but Men are wanting to themselves in laying this Gift of the Gods upon the back of a silly slow-paced Ass, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of Delay: From whose leisurely and Snail-like-pace, proceeds that complaint of Life's brevity, and Arts length. And to say the Truth, I am of this opinion, that those two Faculties: *Dogmatical* and *Emperical*, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new Gifts of the Gods imposed either upon Philosophical Abstractions, as upon a flying Bird, or upon slow and dull Experience, as upon an Ass. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill conceit of this Ass, if it meet not for the accidents of

Travel

Travel and Thirst: For I am perswaded, that who so constantly goes on, by the conduct of Experience as by a certain Rule and Method, and not covets to meet with such Experiments by the may, as conduce either to gain or ostentation, (to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down, and fell this Burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear his new addition of divine Munificence.

Now, in that this Gift is said to pass from Men to Serpents, it may seem to be added to the Fable for ornament-sake in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame Men, that having the use of that Cœlestial Fire, and of so many Arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as Nature it self bestows upon many other Creatures.

But that sudden reconciliation of Men to *Prometheus*, after they were frustrated of their hopes, contains a profitable and wise Note, shewing the levity and temerity of Men in new Experiments; for if they have not present Success, answerable to their expectation, with too sudden hast desist from that they began, and with precipitancy returning to their former experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The state of Man, in respect of Arts, and such things as concern the Intellect, being now described, the Parable passeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts, follows the setting of Divine Principles, which Hypocrisie hath over-spread and polluted. By that twofold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed out the Persons of a true Religious Man, and an Hypocrite. In the one is contained Fatness, which (by reason of the Inflammation and Fumes thereof,) is called, *The Portion of God*; by which his Affection and Zeal, (tending to God's Glory, and ascending towards Heaven) is signified. In him also are contained the Bowels of Charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome Flesh. Whereas in the other, there is nothing

but

but dry and naked Bones; which nevertheless, do stuff up the Hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice: By this may be well meant those external and vain Rites, and empty Ceremonies by which Men do oppress and fill up the sincere Worship of God, things composed rather for ostentation, than any way conducing to true Piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock-Sacrifices unto God, except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this Choice, *Isa.* 58. 5. *Num tandem hoc est illud Jejunum quod ELEGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, & caput instar junceti demittat?* It is such a Fast, that I have chosen, that a Man should afflict his Soul for a day, and to bow down his head like a Bulrush?

Having now touch'd the State of Religion, the Parable converts it self to the Manners and Conditions of humane Life. And it is a common, but apt interpretation, by *Pandora* to be meant pleasure and voluptuousness; which (when the civil Life is pamper'd with too much Art, and Culture, and Superfluity,) is ingendred, as it were, by the efficacy of Fire, and therefore the work of Voluptuousness is attributed unto *Vulcan*, who also himself doth represent Fire. From this do infinite Miseries, together with too late repentance, proceed, and overflow the Minds, and Bodies, and Fortunes of Men, and that not only in respect of particular Estates, but even over Kingdoms and Commonwealths; for from this Fountain have Wars, Tumults, and Tyrannies derived their Original.

But it would be worth the Labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth delineate two Conditions; or (as I may say) two Tables or Examples of humane Life, under the Persons of *Prometheus*, or *Epimetheus*; for they that are of *Epimetheus* his Sect, are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to pass hereafter; esteeming that best which seems

ſeems moſt ſweet for the preſent; whence it happens, that they are overtaken with many miſeries, difficulties, and calamities, and ſo lead their Lives almoſt in perpetual affliction; but yet notwithſtanding they pleaſe their Fancy, and out of ignorance of the paſſages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their Mind, whereby they ſometimes (as with ſweet dreams) ſolace themſelves, and ſweeten the Miſeries of their Life. But they that are *Prometheus* his Scholars, are Men endued with Prudence, foreſeeing things to come, warily ſhunning, and avoiding many Evils and Misfortunes. But to theſe their good Properties, they have alſo annexed, that they deprive themſelves, and defraud their *Genius* of many lawful Pleaſures, and divers Recreations, and (which is worſe,) they vex, and torment themſelves with cares and troubles, and inteſtine fears; for being chained to the Pillar of neceſſity, they are afflicted with innumerable Cogitations, (which, becauſe they are very ſwift, may be fitly compared to an Eagle,) and thoſe griping, and as it were, gnawing and devouring the Liver, unleſs ſometimes, as it were, by Night, it may be they get a little Recreation, and eaſe of Mind; but ſo, as that they are again ſuddenly aſſaulted with freſh anxieties and fears.

Therefore this Benefit happens to but a very few of either Condition, that they ſhould retain the Commodities of Providence, and free themſelves from the Miſeries of Care and Perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the aſſiſtance of *Hercules*, that is, Fortitude, and Conſtancy of Mind, which is prepared for every Event and armed in all Fortunes, foreſeeing without fear, enjoying without loathing, and ſuffering without Impatience. It is worth the noting alſo, that this Vertue was not natural to *Prometheus*, but adventitial, and from the indulgence of another; for no in-bred and natural Fortitude is able to encounter with theſe Miſeries. Moreover, this Vertue was received and brought unto him from the

remotest part of the *Ocean*, and from the *Sun*, that is, from Wisdom, as from the *Sun*; and from the Meditation of Inconstancy, or of the Waters of Humane Life, as from the sailing upon the Ocean; which two *Virgil* hath well conjoyned in these Verses;

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:*
*Quique metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum*
*Subjecit pedibus, strepitumq; Acherontis avari.*

Happy is he that knows the causes of things:
And that with dauntless courage treads upon
All Fear and Fates, relentless Threatnings,
And greedy Throat of roaring *Acheron.*

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the consolation and confirmation of Mens Minds, that this noble *Hero* crost'd the Ocean in a Cup or Pan, lest peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their Nature will not be capable of this Fortitude and Constancy. Of which very thing *Seneca* well conceived, when he said, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, & securitatem Dei.* It is a great matter for Humane Frailty and Divine Security to be at one and the self-same time, in one and the self-same Subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by premeditation past over, lest a breach should be made in those things that were so link'd together. That therefore which I could touch here, is that last Crime imputed to *Prometheus*, about seeking to bereave *Minerva* of her Virginity: For questionless, it was this hainous offence that brought that punishment of devouring his Liver, upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when we are puft up with two much Learning and Science, they go about oftentimes to make even Divine Oracles subject to Sence and Reason: whence most certainly follows a continual distraction,

straction, and restless griping of the Mind; we must therefore with a sober, and humble Judgment, distinguish between Humanity and Divinity, and between the Oracles of Sense, and the Mysteries of Faith, unless an Heretical Religion, and a commentitious Philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, It remains that we say something of the Games of *Prometheus*, performed with burning Torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that Fire, in whose Memory, and Celebration, these Games were instituted, and it contains in it a most wise admonition, that the perfection of Sciences to be expected from Succession, not from the nimbleness and promptness of one only Author; for they that are nimblest in Course, and strongest in Contention, yet haply have not the luck to keep Fire still in their Torch; seeing it may be as well extinguished by running too fast, as by going too slow. And this running and contending with Lamps, seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all Sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first Authors, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid*, and *Ptolemy*; Succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great Matter. It were therefore to be wished, that these Games, in honour of *Prometheus*, or Humane Nature, were again restored, and that Matters should receive success by Combate and Emulation, and not hang upon any one Man's sparkling and shaking Torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to rouse up their Spirits, and try their strengths and turns, and not to refer all to the Opinions and Brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known, and common Fable; and yet I will not deny, but that there may be some things in it, which have an admirable consent with the Mysteries of Christian Religion, and especially that Sailing of *Hercules* in a Cup, (to set *Prometheus* at liberty,) seems to represent an Image of the Divine Word, coming in Flesh, as in a frail Vessel, to

redeem Man from the Slavery of *Hell*. But I have interdicted my Pen all liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange Fire at the Altar of the Lord.

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## *SCYLLA* and *ICARUS*, *or the Middle-way.*

MEDIOCRITY, or the *Middle-way*, is most commended in Moral Actions; in Contemplative Sciences, not so celebrated; though no less profitable and commodious; but in Political Employments, to be used with great heed and judgment. The Ancients by the way, prescribed by *Icarus*, noted the *Mediocrity* of Manners; and by the Way between *Scylla* and *Caryldis* (so famous for difficulty and danger,) the *Mediocrity* of intellectual Operations.

*Icarus* being to cross the Sea by flight, was commanded by his Father, that he should fly neither too high nor too low; for his Wings being joined with Wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be feared lest the Wax would melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, lest misty Vapours of the Sea would make it less tenacious; but he in a youthful jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong, and perished in the Water.

The Parable is easie and vulgar; for the way of Vertue lies in a direct Path between Excess and Defect. Neither is it a wonder that *Icarus* perished by Excess, seeing that Excess for the most part, is the peculiar fault of Youth, as Defect is of Age, and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, Youth commonly makes choice of the better, Defect being always accounted worst; for whereas excess contains some Sparks of Magnanimity, and, like a Bird, claims Kindred of the Heavens, Defect, only like a base Worm, crawls upon the Earth. Excellently therefore said *Heraclitus*, *Lumen siccum, optima Anima*; a dry Light is the best Soul; for if the Soul

Soul contract moiſture from the Earth is become degenerate altogether. Again, on the other ſide, there muſt be moderation uſed, that this Light be ſubtiliz'd by this laudable Siccity, and not deſtroy'd by too much fervency. And thus much every Man for the moſt part knows.

Now they that would ſail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* muſt be furniſhed, as well with the skill, as proſperous ſucceſs in Navigation: For if their Ships fall into *Scylla* they are ſplit on the Rocks: if into *Charybdis* they are ſwallowed up of a Gulph.

The Moral of this Parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain matter of infinite Contemplation) ſeems to be this: That in every Art and Science, and ſo in their Rules and Axioms, there be a mean obſerved between the Rocks of Diſtinctions, and the Gulfs of Univerſalities; which two are famous for the Wrack both of Wits and Arts.

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## *SPHYNX, or Science.*

THEY ſay that *Sphynx* was a Monſter of divers forms, as having the Face and Voice of a Virgin, the Wings of a Bird, and the Talons of a Gryphin. His abode was in a Mountain near the City of *Thebes*, he kept alſo the High-ways, and uſed to lie in Ambuſh for Travellers, and ſo to ſurprize them: To whom (being in his power) he propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muſes. Now if theſe miſerable Captives were not able inſtantly to reſolve and interpret them in the mid'ſt of their Difficulties and Doubts, ſhe would rend and tear them in pieces. The Country groaning a long time under this Calamity, the *Thebans* at laſt propounded the Kingdom as a Reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphynx*,

there being no other way to destroy her: Whereupon *Oedipus* (a Man of piercing, and deep Judgment, but Maimed and Lame, by reason of holes bored in his Feet,) moved with the hope of so great a Reward, accepted the condition, and determined to put it to the hazard; and so with an undaunted and bold Spirit, presented himself before the Monster; who asked him what Creature that was, which after his Birth, went first upon four Feet, next, upon two, then upon three, and lastly, upon four Feet again; answered forthwith, that it was Man; which in his Infancy, immediately after Birth, crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after, stands upright upon two Feet; then growing old, he leans upon a Staff wherewith he supports himself, so that he may seem to have three Feet; and at last, in decrepid years, his strength failing him, he falls groveling again upon four, and lies bed-rid. Having therefore by this true Answer gotten the Victory, he instantly slew this *Sphynx*, (and laying her Body upon an Ass,) leads, it, as it were, in Triumph; and so (according to the condition,) was created King of the *Thebans*.

This Fable contains in it no less wisdom than elegancy, and it seems to point at Science, especially that which is joyned with practice, for Science may not absurdly be term'd a Monster, as being by the ignorant and rude multitude always held in admiration. It is diverse in shape and figure, by reason of the infinite variety of Subjects, wherein it is conversant. A Maiden Face and Voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of Tongue. Wings are added, because Sciences and their Inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the communication of Science is as the kindling of one light at another. Elegantly also it is feigned to have sharp and hooked Talons, because the Axioms and Arguments of Science do so fasten upon the mind, and so strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it stir

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not or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, *Eccles.* 12. 12. *Verba sapientum* (saith he) *sunt tanquam aculei & veluti clavi in altum defixi.* The words of the wise are like Goads, and Nails driven far in.

Moreover, all Science seems to be placed in steep and high Mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon Ignorance with a scornful Eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of Mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be feigned to beset the High-way, because which way soever we turn in this Progress and Pilgrimage of Humane Life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for Contemplation.

*Sphynx* is said to have received from the Muses, divers difficult Questions and Riddles, and to propound them unto Men, which remaining with the Muses, are free (it may be) from savage cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of Study and Meditation, than to know, the Understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys Freedom and Liberty, and even doubts and variety, find a kind of pleasure and delectation: But when once these *Ænigma's* are delivered by the Muses to *Sphynx*, that is, to practice, so that if it be sollicited and urged by action, and Election, and Determination; then they begin to be troublesom and raging; and unless they be resolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the minds of Men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold condition propounded with *Sphynx* her *Ænigma's:* To him that doth not expound them, distraction of mind; and to him that doth, a Kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every Artificer also commands over his work.

Of *Sphynx* her Riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the nature of things, others touching the nature of Men. So also there are two kinds of Empires, as rewards to those that resolve them. The one over Nature, the other over Men; for the proper and chief end of true Natural Philosophy is to command and sway over Natural Beings; as Bodies, Medicines, Mechanical Works, and infinite other things; although the School (being content with such things as are offered, and priding it self with Speeches) doth neglect realities and works, treading them as it were under foot. But that *Ænigma* propounded to *Oedipus* (by means of which he obtained the *Theban* Empire) belonged to the Nature of Man: For whosoever doth throughly consider the Nature of Man, may be in a manner the contriver of his own Fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the *Romans* Arts:

*Tu regere imperio populos*, Romane, *memento.*
*Hæ tibi erunt Artes*———

*Roman* remember, that with Scepters awe
Thy Realms thou Rule. These Arts let be thy Law.

It was therefore very apposite, that *Augustus Cæsar* (whether by Premeditation, or by a Chance) bare a *Sphynx* in his Signet: For he (if ever any) was famous not only in Political Government, but in all the course of his Life; he happily discovered many new *Ænigma's* concerning the Nature of Man, which if he had not done with dexterity and promptness, he had often-times faln into imminent Danger and Destruction.

Moreover, It is added in the Fable, that the Body of *Sphynx*, when she was overcome, was laid upon an Ass; which indeed is an elegant Fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but (being well understood,

stood, and divulged,) may be well apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that *Sphynx* was overcome by a Man lame in his Feet; for when Men are too swift of Foot, and too speedy of Pace, in hasting to *Sphynx* her *Enigma's*, it comes to pass, that (she getting the upper hand) their Wits and Minds are rather distracted by Disputations, than that ever they come to command by Works and Effects.

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## *PROSERPINA, or Spirit.*

PLUTO, they say, being made King of the Infernal Dominions, (by that memorable Division,) was in despair of ever attaining any one of the Superior Goddesses in Marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with Words, or with any amorous Behaviour; so that of necessity he was to lay some Plot to get one of them by Rapine: Taking therefore the Benefit of Opportunity, he caught up *Proserpina* (the Daughter of *Ceres*, a beautiful Virgin,) as she was gathering *Narcissus-Flowers* in the Meadows of *Sicily*, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the Subterranean Dominions; where she was welcomed with such Respect, as that she was stiled the Lady of *Dis*. But *Ceres*, her Mother, when, in no place she could find this her only beloved Daughter, in a sorrowful Humour, and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole Earth, with a burning Torch in her hand, to seek, and recover this her lost Child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure, that she was carried to Hell, she importuned *Jupiter* with many Tears and Lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again; and at length, prevailed thus far, That if she had tasted of nothing in Hell, she should have leave to bring her from

from thence. Which Condition was as good as a Denial to her Petition, *Proserpina* having already eaten three Grains of a *Pomegranate:* And yet for all this, *Ceres* gave not over her Suit, but fell to Prayers and Moans afresh: Wherefore, it was at last granted, that (the Year being divided) *Proserpina* should by alternate Courses, remain one six Months with her Husband, and the other six Months with her Mother. Not long after this, *Theseus,* and *Perithous,* in an over-hardy Adventure, attempted to fetch her from *Pluto*'s Bed; who, being weary with Travel, and sitting down upon a Stone in Hell, to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again; but sat there for ever. *Proserpina* therefore remained Queen of Hell, in whose Honour there was this great privilege granted, That although it were enacted, that none that went down to Hell, should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this Law, That if any presented *Proserpina* with a Golden Bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his pleasure. Now there was but one only such a Bow in a spacious and shady Grove, which was not a Plant neither of it self, but budded from a Tree of another kind, like a Rope of Gum, which being pluckt off, another would instantly spring out.

This Fable seems to pertain to Nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of subalternal Creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By *Proserpina*, the Ancients meant that Æthereal Spirit, (which being separated from the upper Globe) is shut up and detained under the Earth (represented by *Pluto*) which the Poet well expresses thus:

*Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto*
*Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.*

Whether

Whether the Youngling *Tellus* (that of late
Was from the high-rear'd *Æther* separate)
Did yet contain her Teeming Womb within
The living Seeds of Heaven her nearest kin.

This Spirit is feigned to be rapted by the Earth, because nothing can with-hold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and staid by a sudden contraction, no otherwise than if a Man should go about to mix Air with Water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid Agitation, as may be seen in Froth, wherein the Air is rapted by the Water.

Neither is it elegantly added, that *Proserpina* was rapt as she was gathering *Narcissus* Flowers in the Valleys, because *Narcissus* hath his Name from slowness or stupidity: for indeed then is this Spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatcht by Terrestrial Matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were flown.

Rightly is *Proserpina* honoured more than any of the other God's Bed-fellows, in being stiled the Lady of *Dis*, because this Spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower Regions, *Pluto* abiding stupid and ignorant.

This Spirit the power Cœlestial (shadowed by *Ceres*) strives, with infinite sedulity, to recover and get again: For that Brand or burning Torch of *Æther* (which *Ceres* carried in her hand) doth doubtless signifie the Sun which enlightneth the whole Circuit of the Earth, and would be of greatest moment to recover *Proserpina*, if possible it might be.

But *Proserpina* abides still; the Reason of which is accurately, and excellently propounded in the Conditions between *Jupiter* and *Ceres*: For, first, it is most certain there are two Ways to keep Spirit in solid and terrestrial Matter; the one by Constipation and Obstruction,

struction, which is meer Imprisonment and Constraint; the other, by Administration, or proportionable Nutriment, which it receives willingly, and of its own accord: For after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish it self, it makes no haste to be gone; but is as it were, linked to its Earth: And this is pointed at by *Proserpina* her eating of *Pomegranate*; which if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by *Ceres* with her Torch, compassing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metals and Minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by the solidity of Mass: But that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabits a porous Body, and hath open Passage to be gone, in a manner, as it lists, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the Relish it finds in its entertainment. The second Condition concerning the six Months Custom, it is no other than an elegant Description of the Division of the Year; seeing this Spirit mix'd with Earth, appears above ground in Vegetable Bodies during the Summer Months, and in the Winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning *Theseus* and *Perithous*, and their attempt to bring *Proserpina* quite away, the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass that some more subtil Spirit descending with divers Bodies to the Earth, never come to suck of any subalternal Spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But on the contrary are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that *Proserpina* should be by that means augmented with Inhabitants and Dominion.

All that we can say concerning that Sprig of Gold is hardly able to defend us from the violence of the *Chymicks*, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their *Elixir* to effect Golden Mountains, and the restoring of Natural Bodies, as it were, from the Portal of Hell. But concerning Chymistry, and those perpetual Suitors for that Philosophical *Elixir*, we know certainly that their *Theory* is without grounds,

and

and we suspect that their Practice is also without certain reward. And therefore (omitting these) of this last part of the Parable, this is my Opinion, I am induced to believe by many Figures of the Ancients, that the conservation and restauration of Natural Bodies, in some sort, was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing abstruse and full of Difficulties, and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only Sprig was found among infinite other Trees in a huge and thick Wood, which they feigned to be of Gold, because Gold is the Badge of perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this effect is to be rather hoped for from Art, than from any Medicine, or simple or natural means.

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## *METIS, or Counsel.*

THE Ancient Poets report, that *Jupiter* took *Metis* to Wife, whose Name doth plainly signifie Counsel, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withal, by which means *Jupiter* himself became with Child, and was delivered of a wondrous birth; for out of his Head or Brain came forth *Pallas* Armed.

The Sense of this Fable (which at first apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd) contains in it a secret of State, to wit, with what policy Kings are wont to carry themselves towards their Counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their Authority and Majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the People: For Kings being as it were tied and coupled in a Nuptial Bond to their Counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the affairs of greatest importance do yet detract nothing from their own Majesty. But

when

when any Matter comes to be censured or decreed (which is a birth) there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their Councellors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatched by their Wisdom and Judgment. So as at last Kings (except it be in such matters as are distastful and maligned, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves) do assume the honour and praise of all matters that are ruminated in Council, and, as it were, formed in the Womb, whereby the resolution and execution (which because it proceeds from power, and implies necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the Figure of *Pallas* Armed) shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the Authority of the King, by his meer will and free applause, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to Issue out of his own Head or Brain, intimating, that out of his own Judgment, Wisdom, and Ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

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## *The* SYRENS *or Pleasures.*

THE Fable of the *Syrens* seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious allurements of Pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wisdom of the Ancients have with a farther reach or insight strained deeper Matter out of them, not unlike the Grapes ill pres'd; from which, though some Liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These *Syrens* are said to be the Daughters of *Achelous*, and *Terpsichore* one of the Muses; who in their first being, were winged, but after rashly entring into contention with the Muses, were by them vanquished, and deprived of their Wings. Of whose pluck'd out Feathers the Muses made themselves Coronets, so as ever since that time all the Muses have attired

attired themselves with plumed heads, except *Terpsichore* only, that was Mother to the *Syrens*. The Habitation of the *Syrens* was in certain pleasant Islands, from whence as soon as out of their Watch-Tower they discovered any Ships approaching, with their sweet Tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their power would destroy them. Neither was their Song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious Tunes so fitting and delighting the Ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all Passengers. And so great were the mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as Man can ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcasses. For the remedying of this Misery a double means was at last found out; the one by *Ulysses*, the other by *Orpheus*. *Ulysses* (to make experiment of his Device) caused all the Ears of his Company to be stop'd with Wax, and made himself to be bound to the Main Mast, with special Commandment to his Mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But *Orpheus* neglected and disdained to be so bound, with a shrill and sweet Voice, singing Praises of the Gods to his Harp, suppress'd the Songs of the *Syrens*, and so freed himself from their danger.

This Fable hath relation to Mens Manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent Parable: For Pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the delights and jovial contentments of the Mind; the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with winged Inticements to ravish and rap Mortal Men: But Learning and Education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles Man's Mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of Things, as that it clips the Wings of Pleasure. And this was greatly to the honour and renown of the Muses; for after that by some Examples, it was made manifest, that by the power of Philosophy, vain Pleasures might grow contemptible;

temptible; it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise, and elevate the Mind aloft, that seemed to be base, and fixed to the Earth, make the cogitations of the Men (which do ever reside in the Head, to be æthereal, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the *Syrens* was left to her Feet, and without Wings; that no doubt is no otherwise meant, than of Light and superficial Learning, appropriated and designed only to Pleasures, as were those which *Petronius* devoted himself unto, after he had received his fatal Sentence; and having his Foot, as it were, upon the Threshold of Death, sought to give himself all delightful Contentments; insomuch, as when he had caused Consolatory Letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, (as *Tacitus* reports; that should give him Courage and Constancy;) but only read fantastical Verses, such as these are;

*Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, atq; amemus,*
*Rumoresque Senum severiorum,*
*Omnes unius æstimemus Assis.*

My *Lesbia*, let us live and love;
Though wayward Dotards us reprove,
Weigh their Words light for our behove.

And this also:

*Jura Senes norint, & quid sit fasq; nefasque,*
*Inquirant tristes, Legumq; examina servent.*

Let doting Gransire know the Law,
And right and wrong observe with awe:
Let them in that strict Circle draw.

This kind of Doctrine would easily perswade to take these plumed Coronets from the Muses, and to restore the Wings again to the *Syrens*. These *Syrens* are said to

to dwell in remote Isles; for that pleasures Love Privacy, and retired Places, shunning always too much Company of People. The *Syren's* Songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the Deceits and Danger of them, as that they need no exposition. But that of the Bones appearing like white Cliffs, and descryed afar off, hath more Acuteness in it; for thereby is signified, that, albeit the Examples of Afflictions be manifest, and eminent; yet do they not sufficiently deterer us from the Wicked Enticements of Pleasures.

As for the Remainder of this Parable, though it be not over-mystical, yet it is very grave, and excellent: For in it are set out three Remedies for this violent, enticing Mischief; to wit, Two from Philosophy, and one from Religion. The first Means to shun these inordinate Pleasures is, to withstand, and resist them in their beginnings, and seriously to shun all occasions that are offered, to debauch and entice the Mind, which is signified in that stopping of the Ears; and that Remedy is properly used by the meaner and baser sort of People, as it were *Ulysses*'s Followers or Mariners; whereas more Heroick and Noble Spirits may boldly converse even in the midst of these seducing Pleasures, if with a resolved constancy they stand upon their Guard, and fortifie their Minds; and so take greater contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved Vertue; learning rather throughly to understand the Follies and Vanities of those Pleasures by Contemplation, than by Submission: Which *Solomon* avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those Solaces and Pleasures wherein he Swam, doth conclude with this Sentence,

*Sapientia quoque perfeverabat mecum.*

Wisdom also continued with me.

Therefore theſe *Heroes*, and Spirits of this excellent Temper, even in the midſt of theſe enticing Pleaſures, can ſhew themſelves conſtant and invincible, and are able to ſupport their own vertuous Inclination, againſt all heady and forcible perſwaſions whatſoever; as by the example of *Ulyſſes*, that ſo peremptorily interdicted all peſtilent Counſel, and Flatteries of his Companions, as the moſt dangerous and pernicious Poyſons to captivate the Mind. But of all other Remedies in this caſe, that of *Orpheus* is moſt predominant: For they that chaunt and reſound the praiſes of the Gods, confound and diſſipate the Voices and Incantations of the *Syrens*; for Divine Meditations do not only in power ſubdue all ſenſual pleaſures; but alſo far exceed them in ſwiftneſs and delight.

*FINIS.*

# THE CHARACTER OF Queen Elizabeth.

## Written by way of Eſſay. By the Lord *Verulam.*

QUeen *Elizabeth* was one, whom *Nature* and *Fortune* had made the Wonder of her *Sex*, and an Ornament to *Crowned Heads*. For the truth of this we need not appeal to the Teſtimony of any *Monk*, or of any ſuch like *Solitary Recluſe:* For tho theſe men write acutely, and have extraordinary Judgments; yet being wedded to, and byaſſed by their own Faction, they can never be faithful in tranſmitting a thing of this nature to Poſterity. But this is a Province that more properly belongs to men of the *firſt Rank*, to ſuch as have had the management of the *Government* in their own hands, and have been acquainted with the Secret Springs and motions of Civil Affairs. Every Age has look'd upon a *Female Government* as a Rarity; if *proſperous* as a Wonder; but if *proſperous* and *long*, almoſt as a Miracle. Whereas tho ſhe reign'd full four and forty years, yet ſhe outliv'd not her *happineſs*. Of the *happineſs* of her Reign I deſign to ſay ſomething, without running out into high Encomiums. For Praiſe indeed is the Tribute of *Men*, but Happineſs the Gift of *God*.

I take this to be the firſt ſtep to her *happineſs*, that from a Private condition ſhe was rais'd to the Adminiſtration of the *Regal Power*. Foraſmuch as 'tis a ſtanding Rule in the Morality and common Senſe of Mankind, that thoſe things are to be look'd upon as our greateſt

happineſs, which come beyond our hope and expectation. But this is not what I mean. That which I aim at is this, that *Princes*, who are bred up in *Courts* as the undoubted Heirs of a Crown, are ſo far debauch'd by a ſoft indulgence and effeminate Education, that they frequently become leſs capable of managing the State: Whereas thoſe have proved the beſt and moſt excellent Princes, who have been under the Diſcipline of both Fortunes. We need not to go far for inſtances, *Henry* the *Seventh* in *England*, and *Lewis* the *Twelfth* in *France*, within our own memory, and almoſt at the ſame time, mounted the Throne, not only from a Private, but alſo from an Adverſe and haraſs'd Fortune; and the one prov'd famous for his *Prudence*, the other for his *Juſtice*. This was the Caſe of Queen *Elizabeth*; whoſe Fortune was as inconſtant at the firſt, as at laſt when ſhe came to the Crown, it prov'd Conſtant and Even. For at her *Birth* ſhe was declar'd Heireſs to the Throne, afterwards diſinherited, and at laſt deſpis'd: during her *Brother's Reign* ſhe enjoy'd a more ſerene and favourable Fortune, but whilſt her *Siſter* ſway'd the Scepter the Clouds and Storms return'd upon her again. Nor was ſhe advanc'd on a ſudden from a Priſon to a Throne, thereby to render her haughty after the Provocation of her Sufferings: But being reſtor'd to her Liberty, and rais'd in her hopes, ſhe at laſt quietly and happily mounted the Throne, without any Oppoſition or Competitor.

Theſe things I have mention'd, to ſhew how careful *Divine Providence* was of this beſt of *Princes*, by preparing her for a Crown by ſuch methods of Diſcipline. Nor ought the misfortune of her *Mother* to Eclipſe the glory of her *Birth*: eſpecially ſince 'tis abundantly evident, that *Henry* the *Eighth* was engag'd in a new love before he gave way to his Anger againſt Queen *Ann*: nor is poſterity a ſtranger to the nature of that *King*, which was ſo very prone to Love and Jealouſie, and proſecuted both even with the effuſion of Blood. To this we may add, that ſhe was cut off by an Accuſation

on grounded on slight Conjectures, and on the improbable Testimony of a wicked Accuser: all which was mutter'd privately at that very time; and Queen *Ann* herself with an undaunted mind, and noble presence, protested her Innocence at the time of her Death. For having (as she thought) got a faithful and generous Messenger, she just before her execution dispatcht him away with this Message to the King; *That the King had very well observ'd, and would still keep his promise good to her, that was now going to be invested with new honors: since from a Private Person he rais'd her at first to the dignity of a Marchioness, and then advanc'd her to be the Partner of his Bed and throne; and now, when he could raise her no higher on Earth, design'd to promote her an Innocent to the Crown of Martyrdom.* But the Messenger durst not tell this to the *King*, who was devoted to another Love, tho *Fame*, the Asserter of Truth, has transmitted it to *Posterity*.

Another part of the Happiness of Queen *Elizabeth* seems to consist in the Period and Course of time wherein she reign'd: Not only that it was *Long*, but because it was such a Part of her Life, as was most fit for managing the Affairs of State, and governing a Kingdom. For she was five and twenty years old when she began her Reign (at which Age she was out of her Guardians Jurisdiction) and she continu'd to Reign to the 70th year of her Age. So that she neither experienc'd what it was to be a *Minor*, and under a Governors power; nor did she labour under the Inconveniences of an extreme and miserable *Old Age*. An Age, which even to Private men brings too many troubles along with it; but to Kings, beside the ordinary Miseries of human Life, it comes attended with the Decay of their States, and is back'd with an *inglorious Exit*. For there has scarce been a King, that has liv'd to an extreme and infirm old Age, but what lost much of that Power and Esteem, which he formerly had. Of this we have a notable Instance in *Philip* the *Second*, King of *Spain*, a Prince very potent, and one very well skill'd in the Art of Governing:

who in his latter days, labouring under the Impotency of old Age, deeply experienc'd the truth of what we asserted. He quitted all his Conquests in *France*, made a Peace with that Nation, and endeavour'd to do the same with others, that so he might leave all things in quiet and compos'd to his Successors. On the other hand, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Fortune was so Constant and Vigorous, that no declension of Affairs follow'd her lively, tho declining Age. Nay more, for a standing and most certain monument of her happiness, she died not before a Victory in *Ireland* had put an end to the Rebellion there, so shining and uniform was her Glory in all its Parts! Besides, I think it very material to reflect, over what sort of People she bore the sway, for had her Government been over the *Palmyrenians*, or any other soft and unmanly Nation of *Asia*, it had been a less wonder, since a *Female* in the Throne would be suitable enough to an *Effeminate* People, but to have all things move and be directed by a Woman's Nod in *England*, a Nation so fierce and warlike; this, I say, justly raises our highest admiration.

But tho the *Genius* of her Subjects was so desirous of War, and so impatient of Peace, yet this did not hinder her from maintaining it strictly all her Reign. And this natural inclination of hers, join'd with success, is what I reckon redounds to her highest Commendation. For this conduc'd much to the Happiness of their own Life, to the Honour of her Sex, and to the Peace and Quiet of her Conscience. About the tenth year of her Reign, an Insurrection was indeed attempted in the *North*, but it was soon hush'd and suppress'd. All the rest of her time *England* enjoy'd a secure and profound Peace. And I account it a most glorious Peace, upon these two accounts; which tho they make nothing to the *Merit*, yet contribute very much to the *Glory* of a Peace. The first is, that it appear'd the more Conspicuous and Shining by the Calamities of its Neighbours, which were all in flames round it. Another is, that even in the Blessings

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of Peace, there ſtill remain'd ſo much martial Glory, as by its famous Actions not only retain'd, but likewiſe increas'd the honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. For the ſupplies ſent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; the Voyages that were made to the *Indies*, and round the whole World; the Fleets that were ſent to infeſt *Portugal* and the Coaſts of *Spain*, and the *Iriſh* Rebels ſo often conquer'd and cut off, were all ſufficient Teſtimonies, that *England* had remitted and loſt nothing of its Ancient Glory in the Field of War.

It was likewiſe an addition to her *Glory* aud *Deſerts*, that by her timely ſupplies, the Neighbouring Princes were maintain'd in their Thrones; and the Suppliant States, who by a conduct unbecoming Princes, were expos'd to the Cruelty of their Miniſters, to the fury of the Rabble, and to all manner of Ravage and Slaughter, were at laſt reliev'd by her and plac'd in that poſture of Affairs, wherein they now are. Nor were her *Counſels* leſs beneficial than her *Supplies*: witneſs her frequent admonitions to his *Catholick Majeſty*, to moderate the diſpleaſure he had conceiv'd againſt his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, and to reſtore them to that mildneſs of Government which they formerly enjoy'd: and witneſs her earneſt importunities with the Kings of *France*, putting them often in mind of the *Edicts* wherein they had promis'd to preſerve the Peace. It muſt indeed be acknowledg'd that her advices prov'd ineffectual. For the common intereſt of *Europe* oppos'd the *firſt*, leſt the Ambition of *Spain*, freed as it were from its confinement, ſhould enlarge it ſelf (as affairs then ſtood) to the great prejudice of the Kingdoms and States of the Chriſtian World. And the *Latter* was prevented by the Maſſacre of ſo many Innocent Perſons, who with their Wives and Children were butcher'd in their own Habitations by the barbarous Rabble, who like ſo many Beaſts of prey ſeem'd to be Animated, Armed, and ſent out by Publick Authority: So that the Blood which was ſhed cry'd aloud for *Revenge*, that the Kingdom, ſtain'd by ſo notorious a Villainy, might be purg'd by mutual

Slaughters and Bloodshed. However she perform'd the Office of a *Faithful*, *Prudent*, and *Generous Ally*.

There is still another Reason, why we should admire the peaceful Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, namely, because the Peace which she enjoy'd, was not owing to the inclination which the age she liv'd in had to it, but wholly to her own Prudence and wise Conduct. She struggled with an *Inbred Faction* at home, upon the account of Religion; and the strength of the Kingdom, like the common Bulwark of all *Europe*, seem'd to oppose the growing Greatness of the *Spaniard*, and his Ambition so formidable at that time; so that upon these accounts, there was a sufficient Cause of War: but by her Forces and Policy she surmounted these difficulties. This was demonstrated by one of the most memorable Events, that ever happened in the whole course of Affairs of our age. For when the *Spanish Armada* rode upon our Seas, to the terror of all *Europe*, with so much noise, and so much assurance of success; it took not the least Fisher-boat, nor burnt the least Cottage, nor so much as touched upon our Coast: but being routed in an Engagement, was dispers'd by a miserable flight, and with frequent storms; and so left *England* and her Sea Coasts in an unmov'd and undisturbed Peace. Nor was she less fortunate in disappointing the secret Plots of her private Foes, than in Conquering and Routing the Forces of an open Enemy: For tho there were many Conspiracies laid against her Life, yet were they most happily discovered and defeated. Nor was she upon that account more fearful or anxious of the safety of her Person; her Guards were not increas'd, nor did she confine her self in her Palace, without appearing abroad: But secure of her self, and trusting to her Subjects, she remembred her *Deliverance*, but forgot the *Danger*, and alter'd nothing of her usual Management and Behaviour.

It is likewise worthy our Observation, to consider in what sort of times she flourish'd. For some Ages are so Barbarous and Ignorant, that Men have been Govern'd with

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as much eaſe, as a Shepherd drives and manages his Sheep: But this Princeſs liv'd in a moſt Learned and Polite Age; wherein it requir'd great parts and a high degree of Vertue to be excellent. A *Female Government* is likewiſe very often eclips'd by *Marriage*, and all the Praiſes and Conduct is beſtow'd upon the *Husband:* whilſt thoſe who live unmarry'd, have no ſharers or partners in their Glory. And in this was our Queen the more to be commended, in that her Throne ſtood upon no other *Baſis*, than what ſhe her ſelf had erected. She had no *Brother*, no *Uncle*, nor any other of the *Royal Family*, to partaker of her Cares, or ſhare in her Government. But even thoſe whom ſhe did advance to any places of Truſt, were ſo manag'd and kept in ſuch awe, that each of them was ſolicitous how to pleaſe her; ſo that ſhe was always *Miſtreſs of her ſelf*. She was indeed *Childleſs*, and left no iſſue of her own Body to ſucceed her: But this has been the caſe of the moſt fortunate Princes, of *Alexander the Great*, of *Julius Cæſar*, of *Trajan*, and ſeveral others: which has been variouſly cenſur'd, and has always been a matter of Diſpute. For ſome have look'd upon it as a Diminution of *human Happineſs*, as if men could not be compleatly happy, unleſs they were ſo both in their own perſons, and in the propagation of their Species: but others have eſteem'd it as the greater Happineſs, becauſe then it ſeems to be compleat, when it is not any longer ſubjected to the various turns of Fortune: which 'tis impoſſible to ſecure, when a Poſterity is left behind.

To all this we may add her *Outward Embelliſhments*; ſhe was tall of *ſtature*, well ſhap'd in her Body, and had in her Face the mixture of *Sweetneſs* and *Majeſty*; and always enjoy'd a very *Sound Health*. Beſides all this, ſhe was ſtrong and vigorous to the very laſt, never experienc'd the Changes of Fortune, nor the miſeries of old Age, and at laſt by an eaſy and gentle death ſhe obtain'd that *Euthanaſia*, which *Auguſtus Cæſar* was us'd ſo paſſionately to deſire. This alſo is Recorded of *Antoninus*

*Pius*, one of the best of Emperors, whose death seem'd to be nothing else but a quiet and sweet slumber. Just so in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Distemper, there was nothing that was deadly, or ominous, or unsuitable to humane nature. She was not desirous of Life, or impatient under Sickness, nor disturb'd with the tortures of any Pain: No direful, no pestilential Symptom appear'd, but every thing seem'd rather to prognosticate the decay of Nature, than either the corruption or disparagement of it. For some few days before her Death, being weakened by the drines of her Constitution, and the cares of the Government, having not so much as drank any Wine, or taken any moist diet, she was seiz'd with a *Dead Palsy*, but yet (which is not usual in that Distemper) she retained her Speech, her Sense and her Motion, tho not so brisk and lively as before. Nor was she long in this condition, so that it did not seem to be the *last Act* of her Life, but rather the *first step* to her Death. For tho 'tis esteemed a misery to live a long time in the loss of the use of our faculties; yet to be prepar'd for Death, by a gradual decay of our senses, is certainly a very sweet and pleasant *Dissolution*.

Another remarkable addition to her *Happiness*, is this, that she was not only very happy in her own *Person*, but likewise in the Worthiness of her *Ministers* of *State*. For she made choice of such men, as this *Island* perhaps was never so happy in before. But *God* that favours *Kings*, raises them up *Ministers* and adorns their Minds.

There remain two *Posthumous Felicities*, which seem to attend the more Noble and August Passages of her Life: The *One* is that of her *Successor*, the *Other*, that of her *Memory*. For she has got such a *Successor*, who, tho by his *Masculine Virtue*, and *Off-spring*, and *late Accession to the Throne*, he may excel and eclipse her Glory; yet is so far a favourer of her *Name* and *Esteem*, and is so willing to transmit her actions to posterity, that he has made little alterations, either in the *choice* of *Ministers*, or in the *method of Governing*. So that hardly any *Father* has been succeeded by his *Son*, with less noise, disturbance or alteration.

teration. As for her *Memory*, 'tis so much in the mouths, and so fresh in the minds of all men, that *Death* seems to have extinguished Envy, and put her Fame in a clearer light, and now the *Happiness* of her *Memory* does as it were strive to outvie that of her *Life*. For tho through mens love to any Party, or upon the account of the difference of Religion, any factious report may be spread abroad, yet 'tis such as seems to be fearful of it self, is not sincere, and can never last long. And 'tis upon this account especially that I have made this collection of things, that relate to her happiness, and are marks of the Divine favour: that so no foul-mouthed Libeller might dare to stain so great blessings of God, by the venom of his scandalous Tongue. If any one should now say, as one did to *Cæsar*, *quæ miremur, habemus*; *sed quæ laudemus, expectamus*; *we do indeed see cause to Admire, but none to Praise:* to this I answer, that I look upon *Admiration* as the superlative degree of *Praise*. Nor could that *Happiness* we have been describing, be attained by any, but such as are supported and highly indulged by the Divine favour; and such as in some measure by their *Morals* and *Vertue* are the Establishers of their own *Fortune*. However I thought fit to subjoin some few hints with respect to those *Morals* of the Queen, which seem to have been most exposed to the lash of malevolent Tongues.

In *Religion*, Queen *Elizabeth* was *Pious* and *Moderate*, *Constant* and *Steady*, and a profest Enemy to *Novelty*. As for her *Piety*, tho the chief strokes of it appeared in the Actions and Affairs of State; yet some signs of it were to be seen in the course of her Life, and her ordinary Conversation. She was seldom absent from *Divine Service*, either in her *publick or private Chapel*. She employed much of her time in reading the *Scriptures* and the *Writings* of the *Fathers*, especially of S. *Augustine*. She compos'd some Prayers her self, upon some occasions, and for some extraordinary purposes. Whenever she mentioned the name of *God*, even in ordinary dis-

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courſe, ſhe generally added the title of *Creator*; and ſhewed ſome ſort of humility and reverence in her looks and countenance, which I my ſelf have often obſerved. As for that which ſome have reported, that ſhe was ſo far from thinking of her *Mortality*, that ſhe could not endure to be told of *Old Age* or *Death*, it is abſolutely falſe: ſince ſhe her ſelf, ſeveral years before her Death, would frequently with much facetiouſneſs call her ſelf *the Old Woman*: and would often diſcourſe about the *Inſcription*, ſhe had a mind ſhould be upon her *Tomb*: She gave out, that ſhe was no lover of Glory and pompous Titles, but only deſired her Memory might be recorded in a line or two which ſhould very briefly expreſs her *Name*, her *Virginity*, the *time of her Reign*, *the Reformation of Religion*, *and her Preſervation of the Peace*. 'Tis true, in the flower of her Age before ſhe was paſt Child-bearing, when ſhe was importun'd by ſome to declare her *Succeſſor*, ſhe did make anſwer, *that ſhe could by no means endure to have a Shroud held before her Eyes while ſhe was living*. However, ſome few years before her Death, when ſhe was more thoughtful, and meditated (as 'tis probable) on her *Mortality*, as one of her boſom friends told her, that many and great Places and Offices of Truſt in the Commonwealth, would be too long vacant; ſhe roſe up, and with more than ordinary concern ſaid, *that ſhe was ſure her place would not long be Vacant*.

As for her *Moderation* in *Religion*, perhaps in this her *Character* will ſeem deficient, becauſe of the *ſeverity of thoſe Laws*, which were made againſt her Subjects of the *Romiſh Religion*; but we will produce ſuch things, as are well known to us, and carefully taken notice of by us. This is certain, that ſhe was always averſe from laying any conſtraint on mens Conſciences: but yet ſhe could not allow that the Government ſhould be endanger'd under the pretence of *Conſcience* and *Religion*. Hence it was that ſhe thought nothing but a certain deſtruction would enſue, if ſhe ſhould at the firſt grant a liberty and toleration of two Religions by publick Authority to a fierce

fierce and headstrong People, who would soon upon their private Animolities fall together by the ears. Even in the beginning of her Reign, when all things looked with a suspicious face, she kept some of the *Prelates*, which were of a more turbulent and factious spirit, Prisoners at large, tho she had the Law on her side: and to the rest of both Orders, she used not any sharp inquisition, but by a generous Connivence kept them under her Protection. This was the posture of affairs at first. Nor did she swerve much from this her *Clemency*, tho provoked by the Bull of *Excommunication* thundered against her by *Pius the Fifth*. This indeed might have raised her indignation, and have been the occasion of new modelling the State, but still she retained her own generous Temper. For this Prudent and Courageous Woman was not much Moved at the noise of such Threatnings, being secure of the Fidelity and Affection of her Subjects, and not fearing any harm from the *Romish Faction*, which was too weak to attempt any thing unless seconded by a foreign Enemy.

But about the three and twentieth year of her Reign, the face of Affairs was quite chang'd. Nor is this Period of time, feigned to serve a turn only, but mentioned in the *Publick Records*, and engraven as it were in *leaves of Brass*. Nor were her Subjects of the *Romish Religion* punished with any severity before that year tho several Laws had formerly been enacted against them. But at this time it was by degrees discovered what vast and ambitious designs were laid by *Spain*, to conquer this Kingdom. A great part of this design was to raise a faction in the very heart of the Nation, which being no friends to the Government, and desirous of alteration, should join with the Enemy upon his Invasion. This was hoped would be effected upon the difference there was in Religion: whereupon they resolved to improve that breach, and Priests were sent over from the young *Seminaries*, to raise and increase Mens Love for the *Romish Religion*, to teach and inforce

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the Validity of the *Pope's Bull*, which absolved the Queens Subjects from their Allegiance, and to excite and prepare the Minds of men for an Alteration in the Government.

Much about that time, *Ireland* was openly invaded, and the *Name* and *Government* of Queen *Elizabeth* vilified by various and Scandalous Libels; and affairs were in such a strange ferment, that they prognosticated a greater Commotion. Nor indeed will I say, that every *Priest* knew of the design, or were conscious of what was to be done, but certainly they were the wicked Instigators and Promoters of the Villainy others were to commit. And this is certainly true, (as appears by several Confessions) that almost all the Priests who were sent into *England* from the year abovemention'd, to the thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign (wherein the Design of *Spain* and the *Romanists* was to be put in Execution, by that memorable preparation of a Fleet and Land-forces) I say 'tis certain, that all, who were sent over within that time, among other things had this likewise in their Orders, That they should insinuate, *That Affairs could not last long in the same posture; that they would put on a new Face within some short time; and that the Pope and the Catholick Princes would take care of the* English *State, provided the* English *were not their own hinderance.* Nay, some of the Priests were manifestly engag'd in the Plots and Contrivances which were laid for the Subversion and Ruin of the *Government*: and which is still more, the whole Train of this Design was discover'd by Letters which were intercepted from all parts: wherein it was written, *That the Vigilancy of the Queen and her Council over the Catholicks would be baffled: For she only seem'd concern'd, that the Faction should not be headed by any Nobleman or Person of Quality; whereas the Design they laid was such as was carried on by Private Men of no Note; who never met and conspir'd together in numbers, but order'd and dispos'd all things in the private way of Confession.* These were the *Artifices* which were then us'd, and were so customary and familiar to those Men, as might be seen in a fresh and parallel case.

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In a time of so much danger, Queen *Elizabeth* was obliged by a kind of fatal necessity to enact severe Laws, thereby to restrain those of her Subjects, who being averse to her Government, and grown past the hopes of being cur'd, began to grow rich by the private Life they led, being exempted from the charge and burden of publick Offices. The Original of this spreading Evil was charg'd upon the *Seminary Priests*; who were bred up in foreign parts, and maintain'd by the Charity and Benevolence of *Foreign Princes* the profest Enemies of the Realm: who had liv'd in places, where the best Titles they could bestow on Queen *Elizabeth* were those of, *Heretick*, *Excommunicated*, *and Damnable Fury*; who, tho they themselves were not engag'd in treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate Friends of such as were guilty of those Villainies, and who, by their Artifices and poysonous Methods had depraved the very Sacrifice of the *Mass*, which before was a sweet and harmless thing; and had as it were infected it with a new kind of Ferment and pernicious Malignity. Whereupon the only Expedient to put a stop to this growing Evil was thought to be the prohibiting these men from coming into the Land upon pain of Death; which was accordingly enacted in the seven and twentieth Year of her Reign. Nor did the Event it self, when so great a Storm broke out upon, and threatened the Nation, in the least take off from the Envy and Hatred of these Men, but rather increas'd it; so far had they divested themselves of the Love they ow'd their Country. Afterwards when our fears of *Spain* (the true occasion of this severity) were over and vanisht; yet the Memory of the former times was so deeply fixt in the Minds and Senses of most Men, and to have abrogated the Laws that were once made would have argued so much *Inconstancy*, or to have slighted them would have been a sign of so much *Indifferency*; that Queen *Elizabeth* as cases then stood, did not think it safe for her self, that things should return to the same posture they were in before the three and twentieth year of her Reign.

Reign. To this may be added the *Induſtry* of ſome to increaſe the Revenues of the *Exchequer*, and the *Care* of thoſe *Miniſters of Juſtice*, who are us'd to mind no other Safety of their Country than what is contain'd in the Laws: both which requir'd and call'd loudly for the Laws to be put in Execution. However, ſhe (to the Glory of her good Nature be it ſpoken) did ſo far blunt the edge of the Laws, that but very few Prieſts ſuffer'd Death upon that account. Nor do we ſpeak this by way of defence, for theſe matters ſtand in need of none: ſince the whole Safety of the Nation depended upon this Conduct, and the Method and Meaſure of all this Severity was far from being bloody, and is a thing that no Chriſtian need to be aſham'd of; for it proceeded more from the Arrogance and Wicked Practices of others, than from any neceſſity the Nation lay under, and it ſtands for a Monument of Diſgrace to the *Romaniſts*. But not to forget what we firſt aſſerted, we think we have abundantly demonſtrated, that ſhe was *moderate* in points of *Religion*, and that the Alteration which did happen, was not owing to her Nature, but to the Iniquity of the times.

Of her *Conſtancy* in *Religion* and the *Worſhip* thereof, the greateſt proof is, That with an undaunted Mind and little aſſiſtance ſhe extirpated and abrogated the *Romiſh Religion*, as being diſagreeable to the *Word of God*, the *Primitive Purity*, and her own *Conſcience*: notwithſtanding in her *Siſter's Reign* it was eſtabliſhed by Publick Authority and a great deal of Care, and had taken deep root, and was ſtrengthned with the Conſent and Approbation of all that were in Authority and Places of Truſt. Nor did ſhe do this haſtily or in a heat, but cautiouſly and by degrees. The truth of which appears, not only in her whole Conduct and Affairs, but alſo in that Anſwer which ſhe once made to a *Courtier* upon the like occaſion. For in the beginning of her Reign, when according to the Cuſtom the *Priſoners* were to be releas'd, to grace and honor her firſt Acceſſion to the Throne; as ſhe was going to Chapel ſhe was accoſted by a certain

*Courtier*,

*Courtier*, who took more than ordinary freedom, being of a pleasant and facetious Nature. He, either prompted to it by his own private Inclination, or set on by a Wiser Head, deliver'd a *Petition* into her hand, and in a full Concourse of People with a loud Voice expressed himself thus, *That there were still four or five kept Prisoners, and that for no reason at all: That he came to petition for their Freedom, as well as for the rest. That they were the Four Evangelists, and the Apostle S.* Paul, *who had been long confin'd in an unknown tongue, as it were in a Prison, and were not suffer'd to appear abroad in the World.* The Queen gave him this very cautious Reply, *That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to have their Freedom yet, or no.* And thus she kept every thing within her own Power, by giving such a doubtful Answer to so surprizing a Demand. Nor did she carry on things fearfully, and by fits and starts, but gravely, orderly, and maturely: A Conference first had between the Parties, and a *Parliament* first call'd; and at last, within the compass of a year, she so far order'd and establish'd all things which concern'd *Religion*, that she did not suffer the least Tittle of them to be alter'd, during all her Reign. And it was always her Publick Admonition in almost every Session of *Parliament*, that no Innovation should be made in the *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*. Thus far of her Religion.

Now if any of the *graver Sort* should object these *Levities*: "That she was contented and desirous to be Admi-"red, to be Courted, and upon the Account of Love to "be Prais'd and Extoll'd; and that she continu'd these "Levities even to an Age wherein they were unbecom-"ing her. Yet if you take even these in a milder sense, they are not without their due *Admiration*, since they are such things, as often are to be found in the *fabulous Narrations* of Poets and others. Thus 'tis recorded of a certain Queen in the *Fortunate Islands*, who in her Court and Government entertain'd that soft thing call'd *Love*, and yet forbid *Lust* to enter there. But if a harsher construction

ſtruction ſhould be put upon them, yet they are to be admir'd, and that very highly too, ſince theſe *Softneſſes* caſt but little blemiſh on her *Fame*, and none at all upon her *Grandeur*; did no Injury to her Government, and hinder'd not the Publick Adminiſtration of Affairs. For theſe ſort of things are uſually joyn'd to the moſt Noted Fortune. But, to conclude this Eſſay; ſhe was certainly a *good*, *moral Princeſs*, and as ſuch ſhe deſir'd to appear: She was a hater of *Vice*, and ſtudy'd to grow famous by *honourable Methods*. And truly at the naming of her *Manners*, ſomething comes into my mind, which I will here declare. When ſhe had order'd an Expreſs to be written to her Embaſſador, concerning certain Inſtructions, which he was privately to impart to the Queen Mother of *France* at *Valois*, and her Secretary had inſerted a certain Clauſe, that the Embaſſador to ingratiate himſelf the better ſhould ſay, *That they were two Female Princes, of whom, in the Management of Affairs, and in the Art and Skill of Governing, as great things were expected as from the beſt of Men*; ſhe could not endure the Compariſon, but order'd it to be ſtruck out, and ſaid, that *ſhe us'd quite different Arts and Methods in the Adminiſtration of the Government*. And ſhe was extreamly pleas'd, when any one by chance dropt out ſuch an Expreſſion as this, *That ſhe would have liv'd and excell'd in the Eye of the World, tho' ſhe had ſpent her days in a private and mean Station:* So deſirous was ſhe that nothing of her *Virtue* and *Praiſe* ſhould be owing to the *Grandure* of her *Fortune*. But if I ſhould enter upon her Praiſes, either *Moral* or *Political*, or ſhould touch only upon her *Virtues*, which would be a Diſparagement to ſo great a Princeſs: or ſhould I endeavour to ſet them in their clear and proper light, I muſt run out into the *Hiſtory* of her Life, which requires more leiſure, and a larger Genius, than I can pretend to. For I have here given you her *Character* in ſhort. But it muſt after all be ſaid, That only *Time* will beſtow a true Encomium on this Excellent Woman: ſince no Age ſince the Creation, could ever ſhew her *Equal* in her own *Sex*, that was ſo fit to manage the Affairs of a State.

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